

# **SOME ILLUMINARIES OF BAHMANI PERIOD**

*Thesis submitted to the Gulbarga University, Kalaburgi in partial fulfilment  
of the requirement for the award of the Degree of*

## **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY**

Submitted by  
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## **Certificate**

*This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**SOME ILLUMINARIES OF BAHMANI PERIOD**” submitted by MR. NABISA L. is an original work of research carried out by him under my supervision and guidance. The thesis or a part thereof has not been submitted hitherto to any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I recommend the same for submission for the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY** in the faculty of Social Sciences from Gulbarga University, Kalaburgi.*

*Place: Kalaburgi*

*Date:*

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## **DECLARATION**

*I hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**SOME ILLUMINARIES OF BAHMANI PERIOD**” submitted for the award of the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY** is an original work carried out by me under the supervision and guidance of **Dr. Shambuling S. Wani**, Associate Professor of History, Govt. First Grade College & P.G. Center Kalaburgi. The thesis or a part thereof has not been submitted for the award of any degree.*

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# **CHAPTER – I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

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### **Introduction:**

The purpose of history is not only knowing and understanding the past but also helping to complete what has begun. India is great country with a glorious past and with cultural ethos and values unique in the whole world. Which has set its destiny as revealed in religion art and literature and towards building secular democratic, liberal and value oriented society with unity and integrity as the corner stone of its culture.

### **Deccan before the Bahmanis:**

The armies of the Delhi Sultanate first came in contact with the Deccan in the time of Alauddin Khilji, but the invasions of the Deccan, either by Alauddin Khilji or by his generals like Malik Naib Kafur, were in the nature of forays carried out more for the purpose of getting hold of the great wealth for which the Deccan was reputed, than for building up a vast empire. It was really Muhammad bin Tughluq who was able not merely to conquer practically the whole of peninsular India but also to set up a regular administration in the south. The provinces of his vast empire included the southern regions consisting of the

provinces of Daulatabad, Tilangana, Jajnagar, Dwarasamudra, Maharashtra and Kampli<sup>1</sup>. The name given to a province was *Iqlim*, while an *Iqlim* was divided into *Madinas* and *Shahrs* (urban districts) and *Shiqs* (rural districts). The governor of a province was called a Wali, the chief officer of a *Shiq* was *Shiqdar* who was aided by *Amils* or *Nazims*, while the officers in the charge of *Sadis* approximately consisting a hundred villages each, were called *Amiran-i-Sadah* or officers controlling a hundred<sup>2</sup>. These *Amiran-i-Sadah* were not merely revenue collectors but also fairly important military commanders in direct charge of local levies, and while the *Walis* and the *Shiqdars* were, in a way, hidden from the public gaze, these *Amirs* constituted the government as the people knew it. It was therefore not difficult for them in time of emergency, to take umbrage under a certain bond of sympathy on the part of the generality of the public, especially when they began to smart under the indignities suffered by them on the rise of the nobility created by the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

The officers in the province of Daulatabad had failed to collect the revenue due to the empire. When the emperor's punishment seemed imminent, some of the rebels contrived to escape to Gulbarga under the leadership of Alauddin Hasan, who styled himself Zafar Khan. Gathering for himself a large

army, he went to Daulatabad, where Nasiruddin, who had been earlier proclaimed as king of the Deccan by the rebels, abdicated in favour of Alauddin Hasan.

### **Establishment of New Kingdom:**

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah proclaimed himself the ruler in August 3-8-1347 A.D and assumed the title of *Sikander-i-Sani Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah-al-wali*. The title 'Bahman Shah' mentioned in the Gulbarga mosque inscription and it is also found on the coins of the dynasty. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah seized the frontier fortresses of Karnataka and Telingana<sup>3</sup>.

After the death of Alauddin Hasan Bahmani, his son Muhammad Shah-I ascended the throne and invaded Telingana and captured Golconda. He next sent an order to the ruler of Vijayanagara, probably in token of his suzerainty. This was resented as an insult, and in 1372 A.D a war ensued in which the ruler of Vijayanagara was defeated and reduced to the position of a tributary. While Muhammad Shah-I was absent on these expeditions, an insurrection broke out in Daulatabad, which originated in false news of his death. Bahram Khan who was son-in-law of the late King Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, was governor of Daulatabad<sup>4</sup>.

The successors of Muhammad Shah-I were often engaged in wars with Vijayanagara, and in 1398 A.D the king of Vijayanagara Devraya invaded the Raichur Doab for the purpose of a gold smith's daughter. Firoz Shah Bahmani marched against him, and detached a portion of his army to cneck Narsing Raya, the chief of Gondwana, who had been incited by the Muhammadan Sultans of Malwa and Khandesh to invade Berar. Dev Raya was easily overcome, and the King marched against Narsing Raya, who was driven back into Gondwana, and the chief fort, Kherla, was captured. The Raja became tributary, and gave his daughter in marriage to Firoz Shah<sup>5</sup>.

In 1422 A.D Ahmed Shah Wali succeeded Firoz Shah, and having reduced Vijayanagara and Warangal, turned his attention towards the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat, who were getting troublesome. He remained a year at Ellichpur, and in 1425 A.D repaired the Narnala fort and completed the fortifications of Gawalgarh<sup>6</sup>. In the following year Sultan of Malwa tried to prevail on Narsing Raya of Kherla to invade Berar, and when the latter declined, the Sultan marched on Kherla. Ahmed Shah went to the assistance of Narsing Raya and Sultan of Malwa was severely repulsed. In 1427 A.D the Bahmani Sultan removed his capital to Bidar<sup>7</sup>.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah-III the dissensions and struggle between different sections of the nobility of the Bahmani kingdom, the Bijapur forces captured Gulbarga and drove away its governor<sup>8</sup>. The forces of disintegration were now in full swing. Muhammad Shah-III was succeeded by four kings, who were kings only in name<sup>9</sup>. The last king was Kalimullah and after him, the Bahmani dynasty came to an end, making way for the five independent Sultanates of the Deccan, viz., Bijapur Adil Shahis, Golconda Qutub Shahis, Ahmednagar Nizam Shahis, Bidar Barid Shahis and Berar Imad Shahis<sup>10</sup>.

The study of the Some Illuminaries of Bahmani Period should therefore, begin with a survey of the extent of the personalities during Bahmani period. There is a growing interest evinced in the study of medieval Indian history with reference to the history of Bahmani sultanate, based on the authoritative, trustworthy literature derived from the extensive historical research.

Some illuminaries of Bahmani period were the outstanding personalities viz., Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, Khwaja Bandanawaz Gesudaraz and Khwaja Imaduddin Mahmud Gawan in presenting such a brilliant job towards their masters. The order of Hazrat Nasiruddin Chirag Delhi who was preceptor of Hazrat Bandanawaz, he gave the order to his disciple migrate towards



Deccan for the propagation of Sufism in the Deccan. Similarly the Khwaja Mahmud Gawan who was a tarafdār afterwards as a *Malik-ut-Tujjar* he made many efforts to the Bahmani society he constructed Madrasah at Bidar for the students and arranged stipends to the poor and needy students with lodging and boarding facilities. And another great personality of the period was Malik Saifuddin Ghorī who was a contemporary of the founder of the dynasty Sultan Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah and father-in-law of Sultan Muhammad Shah-I during Muhammad's reign he was an *Amir-i-Jumla* and wrote a brochure '*Nasaih-ul-Mulk*. It was a compendium of advice which had been offered to his royal master and kinsmen. On his advice Sultan Muhammad Shah-I organized the administration of the kingdom which continued practically right up to end of the Bahmani period.

During the early years of the sultanate most of the time the Sultan was taken up by military campaigns and the kingdom was governed more or less under military law. Muhammad Shah-I however, put the administration on a semi-civil basis. He divided the kingdom into *taraf* or provinces centered at Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga. The provincial governors were titled respectively, as *Musnad-i-Ali*, *Majlis-i-Ali*, *Azam-i-Humayun* and Malik *Naib*. The province of Gulbarga,

which included Bijapur and which was considered most important of all was usually given to one who commanded the confidence of the Sultan to the greatest degree and hence was called *Malik Naib* or viceroy.

The army was like wise organized. The commander-in-chief was designated as *Amir-ul-Umara*. A group of officers called *Barbardaran* were created whose function was mobilization of troops wherever required. Two hundred men, called *Yakka Jawanan* or *Silahdaran* were in charge of the personal arms of the Sultan. These were well-equipped force of four thousand body guards of the Sultan, called *Khasakhel*.

In this regard, as a research scholar, I take great pleasure and believe it to be my proud privilege and a rare opportunity for me, to present the most methodical work about the Bahmani Sultanate. A sincere care attempt is made to highlight and present some illuminaries of Bahmani period, where a definite plan of historical research has been adopted.

### **Aims and Objectives:**

The present study aims to project some illuminaries of Bahmani period in the history of Karnataka. The socio-cultural organization and institutions have undergone the least changes despite the political vicissitudes. The invasions during the

Bahmani period from outside and within have not failed to bring any changes in the development of socio-economic and religious conditions. It is for this reason an attempt is made to bring forth a critical study about some illuminaries of Bahmani period. As research is the activity to be undertaken to bring out something new, to extend the horizon of knowledge and to contribute some original ideas. The efforts of any research scholar without aims and objectives will become null and void and of no value. The sultans of Deccan have played a vital role in enriching their name and fame in the history of medieval Deccan (Karnataka). The aims and objectives of the study are infact the academic pursuit of a researcher to know categorically about something on the basis of new findings.

### **Research Method:**

In the development of thesis all care has been taken to adopt historical method. The present study is based on primary and secondary sources, contemporary and near contemporary records as far the epigraphical, archival and archaeological sources are concerned, their authenticity is unquestioned. The literary sources help us in utilizing the sources as far as their credibility is concerned. The present research work is totally based on historically method.

Though the subject of some illuminaries of Bahmani period is concerned it attracts the attention of scholars from different places in Karnataka in particular and India in general. Very little study has been conducted on the history of medieval Deccan. In the available studies more attention on illuminated personalities of Bahmani period has been neglected. Hence, there is a need to highlight about some illuminated personalities of Bahmani period.

Renowned scholars like, Dr. M.A. Nayeem, Dr. A.R. Kulkarni, Dr. T.N. Devare, Dr. H.K. Sherwani, P.M. Joshi, G.M.D. Sufi, Narendranath Law and others have brought to light much new material on the history of medieval Deccan, through their numerous articles on new inscriptions and documents published by them. The account of foreign travelers constitutes valuable sources which are rich in volume, variety and interest and gives details about socio-economic conditions, life, customs, tradition, external and diplomatic relations of the people under rule of Deccan Sultans.

### **Justification for the study:**

The history of Medieval Deccan has been attracting more and more number of research scholars consequently every conceivable facets of Deccan history has been subjected to

scrutiny and a good number of thesis and dissertations are being produced. A brief account of historiography of Deccan sultanates reveals beyond doubt that some illuminaries of Bahmani period is a need for undertaking research on the topic with justification.

### **Nature and scope of the study**

As far as the nature of the present study is concerned no independent research work on some illuminaries of Bahmani period has been done. There is a need for analyzing the different facets of the great illuminated personalities of Bahmani period of Deccan under study.

After the disintegration of the Delhi sultanate Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah established a Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan, which was one of the most important kingdoms of Deccan. The Bahmani sultans followed a policy of peace even after bloodshed and tyranny. They developed mutual understanding with native Hindu rulers and subjects in the kingdom. Later the five-off shoots of the Bahmani kingdom, i.e., Adil Shahis of Bijapur, Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar, Qutub Shahis of Golconda, Imad Shahis of Berar and Barid Shahis of Bidar also followed the same policy.

### **Evaluation of Sources:**

A large number of original unpublished documents are available in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Marathi and English Concerned to the topic. In this research work an extensive use of such source material has been used. Further, the study is supplemented by a numismatic, epigraphic and the secondary sources.

Regarding the nature of the sources concerned, they are scattered and not exclusively meant for present topic. This is same in respect of all ruling powers of Bahmani Kingdom. The scattered sources are arranged in a systematic manner. They are as follows:

### **Political History:**

#### **Abdur Razzaque:**

Abdur Razzaque was also a contemporary of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, he was a Timurid Sultan Shah Rukh's ambassador to Vijayanagara, Abdur Razzaque has left a short note with description, of his connection with the Kingdom of Sultan Alauddin of Gilan. He writes that, in 1471 A.D; *i.e.*, in Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's life time, he cites him as an instance of that the great new Gilan had produced. He says the Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was "Like a mid-day Sun in the world in

general and India in particular” and also outwardly he was the chief of the nobles of the Kingdom of the Deccan, his inner self was full of the life of mysterious. He gives us full name of his father and tell us the fact that *Resht* was not a Kingdom as suggested by Ferishtah but only a “*Wilayat* or province of the Kingdom of Gilan. His demonstration appears that Khwaja Mahmud Gawan had already created a special place for himself in the world of learning in his own life time.

**Afnasy Nikitin:**

Afnasy Nikitin was a Russian traveler, who came to India in 1468 A.D and remained here up to 1472 A.D. He met Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, the Bahmani Wazir, and traveled through out the Bahmani Kingdom. His account throws light on the prodigal way of life of the ruling class and on the extreme poverty of the general people who were not even able to get a square meal a day. He mentions about the diamond mine in Raichur. His account is very valuable for the social history of the Deccan. It has recently been published by the Indo-Soviet cultural society in Russian, Hindi and English languages.

**Burhan-i-Maasir:**

This book was compiled by Sayed Ali bin Azizullah Tabatabai. It is essentially a history of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar and derives its name from Burhan Nizam Shah-II under whose patronage the work was written. It begins from the Bahmani Kingdom and comes down to the latter part of A.D. 1595-96. The style of the work is more ornate than Ferishtah's history and in general completeness is inferior to the latter. It throws light on the relations between Bijapur and Ahmednagar and serves as a useful compliment to the other source material. The part of the work dealing with the history of the Bahmani dynasty was translated by Major J.S. King and published in 1900. Sir Walsley Haig translated some part dealing with the Nizam Shahi dynasty.

**Futuh-us-Salatin:**

This history of contemporary events in the Deccan in the poetic form was compiled by Moulana Isami who migrated from Delhi to the Deccan at the time of the establishment of Daulatabad as the second capital of the Empire in 1327 A.D when he was 16 years old. He says that he started composing his chronicle of 12,000 verses on 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1349 and completed it in a remarkably short space of five months on May



14, 1350. It covers the period of the struggle of the Deccan for independence. Having lived under the aegis of the first Bahmani Sultan Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, he is full of praise for that monarch and at times describes him in much exaggerated terms. Like his contemporary Ziauddin Barani is an eye witness to the events he records and may be regarded as being for the most part correct. Barani is full of interesting details of the campaigns, undertaken by the leaders of the revolutionary forces as well as the Tughluq armies, and various other matters pertaining to the story. He is not so profuse with regard to the actual dates as Barani, but dates may be calculated fairly correctly as he is often very particular in giving the actual time taken by the course of a certain event. In spite of this there is little flaw in the sequence of events related.

#### **Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi or Tarikh-i- Ferishtah:**

The author of this chronicle, Mohammad Qasim Hindu Shah Ferishtah was born at Astarabad on the Caspian Sea about 1570. His father Ghulam Ali Hindu Shah was a tutor to Prince Miran Hussain, a son of Murtuza Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. On the dethronement and murder of Miran Hussain in 1589, Ferishtah left Ahmednagar to Bijapur. He was well received by

Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah-II. Under the immediate protection of the Sultan, he spent remaining part of his life till 1623 A.D.

Ferishtah was commissioned by Ibrahim Adil Shah-II to write the general history of the Muslims in India. He presented the first draft of his work to the Sultan in 1606, and spent the rest of his life in revising it. The chronicle divided in to six sections, deals with the Kingdoms of the Deccan. The first section devoted to the Bahmani sultans. The second section fully deals with the history of Adil Shahi dynasty from its foundation to the political relations with Bahmanis, during the evolution of the Adil Shahi kingdom. Ferishtah has described chronologically, in different sections, the history of each Adil Shahi rulers from Yusuf Adil Shah to Ibrahim Adil Shah-II bringing his narrative up to the year 1606 A.D.

### **Riyaz-ul-Insha or Manazir-ul-Insha.**

The Riyaz-ul-Insha is the collection of the letters of Bahmani Wazir Khawaja Imaduddin Mahmud Gawan written either on his own behalf or on behalf of his master Mohammad Shah-III the Bahmani Sultan. The collection has now been printed under the able editorship of S.C. Hussain.

There are altogether 148 letters in the collection out of which 84 have a direct bearing on the historical atmosphere in

which they were written, while the letters to foreign potentates and ministers of foreign states are also of great historical significance. The material contained in the collection throws light on various aspects, such as Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's private life, Bahmani diplomatic relations, military campaigns, factional politics and party animosities of the period so on and so forth. They are couched in highly ornate style, full of similes and metaphors, and interspersed with lines from poems, *Qasidas* and *Ghazals* as well as extract from the *Holy Quran*, and *Hadith* and numerous Arabic and Persian writers. It is no wonder that the work has been regarded as the Garden of Diction as its name signifies, rather than a historical source book.

Of the 148 letters 14 are addressed to the ministers of the Deccan from the battle fields, 13 to ministers of foreign countries, 11 to rulers of Indian Sultanates and 32 to rulers of non Indian Kingdoms. Parts from these, there are letters to the Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's own relatives and men of learning in some of which the writer has included long descriptions of events in the Deccan. The great mass of the collection consists of letters written during the reigns of Nizamuddin Ahmed-II and Mohammad Shah-III, which, apart from occurrences of purely domestic interest, deal with the Malwese and the Maharashtra campaigns and help us to follow the course of these wars as well

as to trace the chronology of the period almost from month to month and day to day.

### **Tabaqat-i-Akbar Shahi:**

Nizamuddin Ahmed was the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbar Shahi* the first general history of the India and the foundation of a number of later works of the same category. He was the son of Muqim-al-Haravi who held a high position in the household of Babur the conqueror and was later raised to be *Wazir* of the Governorship of Gujarat. He was born in 1549 and held several military offices under the Emperor Akbar by whom he was finally raised to the *Bakshiship* of the whole Empire. The *Tabaqat* is the first chronicle of its kind and deals with history of India from the 37<sup>th</sup> year of Akbar's reign upto 1593 A.D, *i.e.*, the year before the death of the author which occurred in 1594 A.D, and ends in a most useful supplement containing the who's who of the eminent personalities of the period. The parts relating to the Deccan are rather short but they have their own value in their compactness as well as their correctness as a correct chronology which often corresponds with other numismatic and other evidence.

**Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi:**

The author of this work is, Ziauddin Barni, who is said to be the chief chronicler of the period ending in the 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Firoz Shah Tughluq (1357 A.D), and is one of sources for the storm and stress leading to the independence of the Deccan. As his surname shows he was born at Baran, the modern Buland Shahr and lived from 1265 to 1357 A.D, the year of the completion of his great work which he had commenced in 1333. He was a disciple of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya and admirer of Mohammad-bin-Tughluq whom he accompanied to the Deccan on one occasion. He is therefore an eye witness of some of the events he describes, though the picture he draws is rather one side especially with regard to the personality of Mohammad –bin-Tughluq or of Firoz Shah Tughluq. He had a wonderful memory, and the number of facts and dates recorded is simple. He died shortly after he had completed his book as probably he lost the favour of sultan Firoz Shah on whom he had lavished his praises. He is main source for the event in the Deccan, and if his book is read in conjunction with Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin* we are sure to discover a correct measure of contemporary history as well, while Isami is a Protagonist of Bahman Shah, Barani applauds the acts of the Mohammad-bin-Tughluq Sultan.

**Tazkirat-ul-Mulk:**

Mir Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi was the author of the celebrated chronicle, the '*Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*'. He was born in 1541 and wrote "*History of the Kings*" when he was 70 years old. He migrated to India from Shiraz as a merchant and later joined the service of the Sultan of Bijapur. Rafi-ud-din rose to fairly high office at Bijapur, being appointed as the Master of the Mint and was even sent on an important diplomatic mission to Ahmednagar. Having adopted Bijapur as his home, he naturally gives details regarding events at that court, but we find certain interesting details in the chronicle about the Bahmani's as well. There is a good account of detail with a sprinkling of the supernatural here and there regarding the life of Sufi Saint Siraj-ud-din Junaidi, the preceptor of Bahman Shah and his immediate successors, which are not found else where. There are certain other interesting and intimate details regarding such matters as Mujahid's Sobriquet Balwant and some facts regarding the dress and the manners of the period found in the work. There is one rather significant remark about Sultan Tajuddin Firoz Shah which runs counter to the description of that ruler's private life as depicted by Ferishtah, and that is the reference in Tazkirat-ul-Mulk that he had only one wife. On the whole, some of the details mentioned on the work are certainly

well worth consideration and fill certain lacunae left by other chroniclers.

### **Zafar-ul-Walih:**

This is one of the few books on the history of India in the Arabic language, the author, Abdullah Al-Makki, surnamed Haji-ul-Dabir, arrived at Ahmedabad, the capital of sultanate of Gujarat, in 1555 A.D at the age of 15, and became employed in the household of Ulugh Khan the Abyssinian nobleman. Four years later, he lived on right up to the conquest of the Kingdom by Akbar the Great by whom he was appointed administrator of *Auqaf* or endowments for the benefit of the holy cities of Mecca and Madina, a post which he filled up to 1576. His history naturally centres round Gujarat, but he takes a bird's eye view of India right up to 1605, and has some interesting details regarding the history Deccan, although he deals with it only in a secondary manner. His works are specially valuable when we have to compare variants in order to arrive at correct conclusions.

### **Zau-ul-Lami:**

The author of this work is Mohammad-bin-Abdur Rahman-us-Sakhawi, was born in 1428 and lived up to 1497, and thus

his life corresponds almost exactly with that of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan. His work, *Zau-ul-Lami li ahl-Qarm-i-Tasi* or the Dictionary of eminent Men of the Ninth Century, a voluminous work in ten Volumes, contains a fairly long notice of the life of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan and quite useful information regarding important personalities of the Deccan contemporary with him. Thus the facts which Sakhawi records may be relied upon more than those recorded by later chroniclers. It may be noticed that the circumstances under which Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was murdered, are recounted differently by Sakhawi from those found in other works. We must, however, remember that he was at Mecca when the news of the Khawaja Mahmud Gawan's murder reached him and it is quite possible that the details may have been distorted to a certain extent.

### **Works of Hazrat Muhammad Hussaini Gesudaraz:**

#### **Kitab-i-Khatima:**

In this treatise on mysticism, the practical and demonstrative aspect of the mystic lore has been emphasized, and the Kitab-i-Khatima can therefore be regarded as a very useful book on practical mysticism.



**Jawame-ul-Kalim:**

This book is a compilation of day to day verbal discussions perfectly replies given in answer to the queries put to the Khwaja Gesudaraz by his disciples, compiled by Khwaja Gesudaraz's eldest son, Sayed Muhammad Akbar-i-Hussaini in the form of a dairy.

**Anis-ul-Ushshaq:**

This is a poetical compositions of the Khwaja Gesudaraz were compiled at his instance by one of his disciples and named Anis-ul-Ushshaq, means a companion to lovers. The introductory part dealing with Hamd, Naat and Manaqib are in Arabic and again repeated in Persian.

**Asmar-ul-Asrar:**

This treatise is a night discourses of secrets, comprise of subtle, mystic and theological interpretations of Quranic verses and Traditions and as stated by the Khwaja Gesudaraz in the preface to this work, their number is one hundred and fourteen, corresponding to that of the chapters in the Holy Quran.

## **Research Design**

The theme of some illuminaries of Bahmani period will be well defined in the following chapters;

- ❖ The First chapter serves as an introduction to the entire thesis. It lays down the aims and objectives of the study, justification for the selection of the topic, nature and scope of the study, research method employed and the sources of the study.
- ❖ The Second Chapter gives details about the political history of Bahmani Kingdom
- ❖ The Third Chapter reviews the contributions of Malik Saifuddin Ghorī. His early life and career.
- ❖ The Fourth Chapter discusses about the contributions of Khwajah Bandanawaz with his teachings and writings.
- ❖ The Fifth Chapter discusses about the Khwajah Mahmud Gawan. His contributions to the society and also to the Bahmani Sultans.
- ❖ The Sixth Chapter throws light on other great personalities during Bahmani period.
- ❖ The Seventh Chapter will draw conclusion and epilogue of the entire thesis.

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## CHAPTER – II

### POLITICAL HISTORY OF BAHMANI KINGDOM

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#### **Gulbarga Period:**

#### **Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah: (3-5-1347-11-2-1358.A.D.)**

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah was the founder of Bahmani Kingdom, he was descendent from the Persian ruling family of Kakuyds of the Iranian dynasty of Bahmani and Isfandar, leading right up to Bahman Gaur<sup>1</sup>. Alauddin Hasan migrated to India from Ghaznah, then a province of Khurasan, in Iran, where Alauddin Hasan established a new dynasty, on the disintegration of the Tughluq empire, on 1357, he adopted Iranian dynastic title of “Bahman” and hence his sobriquet “Bahman Shah”, and consequently the dynasty was called Bahmani<sup>2</sup>. Alauddin Hasan naturally inherited the glorious traditions of the legendary kings of Iran with rich heritage of Islam and there he introduced in the Deccan. He introduced Iranian culture in the Deccan. He and his successors tried to maintain cultural contacts with Islamic countries<sup>3</sup>.

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah selected Gulbarga as his capital. He adorned the capital with a number of fine buildings<sup>4</sup>. He put the administration of the country on a sound basis by dividing it into four provinces called *tarafs*, each under a

governor. He reigned for eleven years and most of his time was spent in waging wars or in negotiations, both of which were destined to extend his territory<sup>5</sup>. At first, he had to meet opposition from the nobles who still professed their loyalty to the Tughluq Sovereign. He consolidated his rule in the Bijapur district also; parts of the Konkan coast road and passes leading to them were controlled by Gulbarga. Bahmani Kingdom had two powerful neighbours- Warangal and Vijaynagara<sup>6</sup>. The proximity of these two Kingdoms was the cause of the chronic warfare of the next hundred years that characterized the history of the Deccan. Kapaya Nayak of Warangal was defeated by Alauddin Hasan and was ordered to pay tribute. In 1349 A.D., Alauddin Hasan attacked the territory of Vijaynagara he conquered all the territory up to the Tungabhadra<sup>7</sup>. He had become unquestioned master of an extensive territory at the time of his death<sup>8</sup>. This territory extended to the sea on the west and on the east to the fortress town of Bhongir.

The king died at the age of sixty seven<sup>9</sup>. He was an entirely self made man and had consolidated his new dominion within a few years from a conjunction of interregnum with small potentates and adventures plaguing the country all around to a strong state extending to thousands of square miles by his industry, tact and sense of discipline. He was one of the first

Muslim kings who ordered that no *Jiziah* should be levied from non Muslims in lieu of military service<sup>10</sup>, and he also allowed agricultural produce of all kinds and domestic animals to enter the Kingdom free of tax<sup>11</sup>.

On his death bed he called his three sons, Muhammad, Mahmud and Dawood and admonished them that if they wanted the Kingdom he had created to last they should all stand united as one man, and asked the younger two to obey Muhammad the heir to the throne.

#### **Muhammad Shah-I: (11-2-1356-21-4-1375.A.D.)**

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah died in 1358 A.D, and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah-I, who was a sound and industrious administrator<sup>12</sup>. Muhammad instituted a council of eight ministers. He took strong measures for suppression of brigandage and decentralized the administration. Gulbarga gained in importance by the splendid court maintained by Muhammad Shah-I. In the beginning of his reign, he was content with the silver throne which belonged to his father, but in 1363 A.D. he replaced this by a magnificent Turquoise throne sent to him by the ruler of Telangana<sup>13</sup>. This throne was made of ebony and was three yards long by two yards broad, and was called the Turquoise throne as (*Takht-i-Firoza*) it was originally

covered with an enamel of Turquoise, but each new Sultan after Muhammad Shah-I added fresh Jewels and Ornaments to the Turquoise throne till there was nothing visible except precious stones<sup>14</sup>.

With the advice of his chief minister that Muhammad Shah-I organized the administration of the Kingdom which continued practically right up to the end of the Bahmani period. During the early years of the sultanate most of the time of the Sultan was taken up by military campaigns and the country was governed more or less under martial law. Muhammad-I, however, put the administration on semi- civil basis. He divided the Kingdom into taraf or province centered at Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga, entitling the provincial governors respectively as Masnad-i-Ali, Majlis-i-Ali, Azam-i-Humayun and Malik Naib<sup>15</sup>.

There are at least three large monuments dating back to Muhammad Shah-I, which are still almost intact, i.e.,

1) Jami masjid<sup>16</sup> in the Gulbarga fort:

The most important masjid to survive in Gulbarga is the Jama Masjid or the congregational mosque built in 1367 A.D during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah-I. It is the first example of Iranian influence; and marks a turning point in the

history of the Deccan architecture. The central dome resembles that at the great masjid at Cordova Spain.

2) Shah bazaar mosque in Gulbarga town:

The oldest masjid at Gulbarga is Shah Bazar masjid, which is ascribed to Muhammad Shah-I and dated to the late fourteenth century. The plan of the mosque is simple enough.

3) Tomb of Hazrat Shamsuddin, Osmanabad:

The tomb of Hazrat Shamsuddin at Osmanabad, which is one clearly showing that the foreign and the other two Tughluq influences<sup>17</sup>.

Muhammad Shah-I continued the wars with Telangana and Vijaynagara. The King of Vijayanagara demanded the River Krishna and Tungabhadra doab. Muhammad Shah-I consistently refused this demand, but Bukka invaded. The Raichur doab in 1362 A.D. Muhammad Shah-I had to concede the Vijaynagara demands. His campaign in Telangana lasted for about two years and concluded with a treaty fixing Golconda as the boundary between the Bahmani Kingdom and Telangana. After this campaign, there was a period of peace and prosperity, Muhammad Shah-I reorganized his artillery on efficient lines and began to use it in fights against the enemy<sup>18</sup>.



### **Alauddin Mujahid (21-4-1375-16-4-1378, A.D)**

Muhammad Shah-I was succeeded by his son Alauddin Mujahid, on 1375 A.D. He was then only 19 years old and reigned for a short period of less than three years, and was murdered on A.D. 1378<sup>19</sup>. When he ascended the throne, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi sent his own shirt and turban which he wore on the occasion, thus ensuring the support of the Muslim divines of his day, and when he started on his Vijayanagara campaign he expressly went to his preceptor for prayers for his victory<sup>20</sup>. It is said that the new king was fully instructed in all the arts of peace and war , and in addition to his excellent command of the Turki and Persian languages , he was also efficient as a soldier being a good swords man and archer and an adopt in riding<sup>21</sup>. He seems to have been a person of extraordinary dimensions and strength which earned him the sobriquet of Balwant, and it is related that he could sometimes consume thirty seers of food in one sitting.

The chief event of his reign was the campaign against Vijayanagara. While returning from this campaign, while he arrived at Mudgal he set out for '*Shikar*' (Hunt) with barely four hundred boon companions including Dawood Khan, Masnad-i-Ali Khan Muhammad, Safdar Khan Sistani and Azam-i-Humayun. Azam-i-Humayun and Safdar Khan , who were

always loyal and faithful to the royal person , were ordered to go to their charges, i.e., Berar and Daulatabad respectively while Alauddin Mujahid himself crossed the river Krishna on a fishing expedition<sup>22</sup>. The stage was now set for the worst, and Masood Khan, son of Mubarak who was the Betel-leaf Bearer, whose collars bow the King Alauddin Mujahid had broken while still a prince, and Dawood Khan who had been scolded for leaving his post, conspired against the King and stabbed him to death while asleep in his tent strong as he was, Alauddin Mujahid, with his bowels all out rushed to the murderer but was overpowered and decapitated. This was on 1378 A.D<sup>23</sup>.

#### **Dawood-I (16-4-1378-21-5-1378)**

Immediately on Mujahid Shah's murder Dawood was proclaimed king of the Deccan and all those present paid homage to him. There was, however, great turmoil in the kingdom, and so far khan Sistani and Azami-i-Humayun who had heard of the king's murder at Bijapur, did not proceed to the royal camp to pay the usual homage to the new king continued their way to the north Harihara-II of Vijaynagara pursued the retreating Bahmani army, and crossing the Tungabhadra laid siege to Raichur. The capital itself was full of rumour and conflict. There were apparently two factious at work

there, one in favour of Dawood and the other led by a stalwart woman, Mujahid's sister Ruh Parwar Agha, which wanted to place Bahman Shah's youngest son Muhammad on the throne<sup>24</sup>.

It was not long after Alauddin Mujahid Shah's death, which an opportunity was offered to Dawood Khan for the accession of Bahmani throne. It is related that Ruh Parwar lived the services of a royal slave named Bakah, who had received his promotion at the hands of the late king Alauddin Mujahid. So, when Dawood-I was attending Friday Prayer in the great Jami mosque in Gulbarga fort he was stabbed by Bakah, while in the act of prostration before God. Bakah was himself immediately sat upon and be headed by Masnad-i-Ali Khan Muhammed<sup>10</sup>. Dawood Shah was taken to the palace in a precarious condition followed by free fight between the rival factious within the precincts of the mosque itself. Ruh Parwar's party, however, got the upper hand, and it was only after Dawood Shah had received news of the defeat of his own partisans.

Ruh Parwar Agha had achieved what she wanted and had avenged her brother's death, Now the question arose as to who should succeed him. Dawood had a son named Sanjar who was then nine years old, and Khan Muhammad wanted to place him on the Turquoise throne, but he found the gates of the palace locked and bolted against him by Ruh Parwar who declared that

a usurpers son had no right what so ever to succeed his father<sup>25</sup>. Khan Muhammad hurried to Malik Saifuddin Ghorī's residence where he had been staying as a recluse since Mujahid Shah's death, as he thought that, being popular with every one, "Hindu and Muslim, male and female, he might be able to give the right lead, but Ghorī, said that Sanjar Wasim the palace itself and it was impossible for him to do anything in the matter, In Shah's grandson Dawood Shah's brother, Muhammad, on the throne.

#### **Muhammad-II (21-5-1378-20-4-1397 A.D.)**

Muhammad-II's long reign of nineteen years was one of the most peaceful in the whole Bahmani history. He was essentially a man of culture and the attainments of his reign in that line have already been dealt with. His first act was to imprison Khan Muhammad, who had been a party to Mujahid Shah's murder, at Sagar where he soon ended his days<sup>26</sup>. On his accession to the throne he re-appointed Malik Saifuddin Ghorī as Prime Minister and made it a point always to seek his opinion in time of need. As a peace loving monarch he found means to end the hostilities which had been going on with Vijayanagara ever since Muhammad Shah-I's reign.

The King's reign was marred by an insurrection at Sagar towards the end of his reign. He had appointed Bahauddin son

of Ramzan Daulatabad to the Sagar. Muhammad solved the question of succession in an able manner, and had it not been for unforeseen circumstances which followed his death, there would have been no question of any further ill falling among the members of the royal house. For along time Muhammad had no male issue and it was the two surviving sons of his uncle Ahmed, the third son of Bahman Shah, Firoz Khan and Ahmed Khan, whom he had virtually adopted. Muhammad used to call the elder, Firoz, his heir and successor and sometimes even made him sit on the Turquoise throne by his side. He betrothed the two brothers to his own two daughters<sup>27</sup>.

But things changed with the birth of Ghiyasuddin, and his natural affection went in favour of his own son so that when on his death bed he expressed the wish that Ghiyasuddin should succeed him and that his son-in-law Firoz and Ahmed should pay homage to him<sup>28</sup>.

Muhammad-II died of typhoid fever on 1397. The next day died the grand old man of the Deccan Malik Saifuddin Ghorī also died who had lived through five reigns and who was the prince minister of the Bahmani state in the time of the storm and tree of four rulers<sup>29</sup>.

### **Ghiyasuddin Tabantan (20-4-1397-14-6-1397)**

Ghiyasuddin Muhammad's elder son succeeded to the throne without any difficulty. His brother-in-law, Firoz Khan and Ahmed Khan were two cultured not to be royal to Muhammad's memory and they were followed by every one of importance in paying homage to the youthful sovereign<sup>30</sup>. He began his reign well, distributed robes of honour to all the highly placed officials and confirmed governors of provinces in their offices. When news of Safdar Khan Sistanis death arrived from Elichpur he appointed Safdar's son Salabat Khan Governor of Berar with the title of Masnad-i-Ali, while Muhammad Khan son of Azam-i-Humayun Khan Muhammad was appointed Sarnaubat and Ahmed Baig Qazwini Peshwa<sup>31</sup>.

Ghiyasuddin was a self centered and indiscreet young man of seventeen, his distributions of high offices among Persian. Afaquis was not to the liking of a section of the Gulbarga aristocracy which consisted for the most part of the old nobility and the Turkish factored in the capital headed to be prime minister himself. The king being young and inexperienced, openly said that what he had done was right and he could not possibly appoint such a low person to the high office of prince ministership in any case. This made Tughalchin not only despair of attaining the high honour but actually afraid of his personal

safety, and unscrupulous as he was, he had recourse to a base stratagem Tughalchin blinded the young king with the dagger point<sup>32</sup>.

The blind Ghiyasuddin was sent to Sagar as a prisoner and his step brother Shamsuddin put on the throne. This was on 14-6-1347<sup>33</sup>.

### **Shamsuddin Dawood-II (14-6-1397-15-11-1397)**

Shamsuddin Dawood-II, the son-in-law of Muhammad-I and a grandson of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah now stepped into the picture and tried to redeem the royal line from being dominated by a foreign adventurer. Tughalchin now seemed to have not what he wanted and the first thing which the boy king was made to do was to promote him to be the Malik Naib and Amir rules of the Kingdom. The manumitted slave girl who was Shamsuddin's mother was now raised to the rank and title of Makhdum-i-Jahan or Dowager Queen and the advice she gave to her son, who was so unexpectedly made to make his way through blood throne was to act entirely at the bidding of the new Malik Naib.

It was however, not long after the boy's accession that Bahmani politics began to take a new shape. It has been related before that Firoz Khan and Ahmed Khan had been loyal to the

will of their father-in-law Muhammad-II and had paid homage to his son Ghiyasuddin who had succeeded him in spite of the fact that they had been brought up like his own sons and given instruction in the best style<sup>34</sup>.

Firoz Khan and Ahmed Khan now proceeded to Gulbarga with just three thousand horsemen hopping all the while that as every one was thoroughly disgusted with Malik Naib's behavior, the army would come over to their side. Arriving on the banks of the Bithora Firoz Shah proclaimed himself king making his younger brother Ahmed Shah Amir-ul-Umara, Mir Fazlullah Inju wakil or prime minister. He had the blind boy Ghiyasuddin with him and together they advanced to within four kos from the capital<sup>35</sup>.

### **Tajuddin Firoz Shah (16-11-1397-22-9-1422)**

Firoz Shah came to the throne after a war of succession against Tugalchin. He was the greatest among the Bahmani Sultans. He has an eventful reign of twenty five years. He was a man of vigour and an alert mind; he carried out three campaigns against Vijayanagara in 1399, 1407 and 1417 A.D.

It is related by Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah on the evidence of Mulla Dawood Bidri states that it was brought to the notice of the Raya<sup>36</sup> that a certain goldsmith of Mudgal, in the



Bahmani territory, had a young and extremely pretty daughter Parthal by name, who was an expert in the art of conversation as well as in music and fine arts, and the Raya was greatly interested by what he had heard about her. It is said that a certain Brahman pilgrim who was on his way from Benaras to Vijayanagara broke his journey at the goldsmith's house, and when he heard that his host's daughter was so accomplished he wanted to see her but was told that the girl kept Purdah from strangers<sup>37</sup>. After much persuasion the father brought her before him and the guest was greatly impressed by the facility with which Parthal played instrumental music before him. On his return to Vijayanagara the Brahman related his experience to his friends and the news was brought to Devaraya himself. He immediately commissioned the Brahman to go back to Mudgal and bring the girl and the whole family to Vijayanagara by hook or crook, even by making the excuse that it was a matter of piety to visit the great temples of Vijayanagara. The Brahman thereupon went to Mudgal and told the parents what a fortune was in store for them when their daughter had a chance of entering the Zenana of the Raya. But Parthal herself flatly refused leaving Mudgal telling her parents that which ever girl entered the Raya's Palace never came out in her life-time and never saw her parents again.

Devaraya was very much incensed on hearing all this, and in spite of the representations made by his friends decided to march towards the border with an army of thirty thousand strong and ordered five thousand cavalry and a large body of infantry to cross the river Tunghabhadra, and march to Mudgal, get hold of the girl and bring her to his capital, thus breaking the treaty which had so lately been entered between his father and the Bahmani Sultan. When the goldsmith and the people of Mudgal heard that a Vijayanagara army had crossed the river they preferred to leave their homes for the jungle and not finding they prey the army retreated looting and marauding on the way. The governor of the duals, Faulad Khan gave them battle and routed them. He then sent word to Firozabad where the Sultan was informing him what had happened.

It was in 1407 that Firoz Shah started south wards with a large army and accompanied by a Khan-i- Khanam and Inju, after crossing two rivers marched on to Vijayanagara. In one of the skirmishes he was wounded by an arrow which he himself pulled out of his body. When Firoz Shah saw how well the capital had been guarded and how difficult it was to capture it, he create dimensions in two directions, sending Khan-i-Khanam to lay waste the south and the Sarnaubat Siddhu to besiege Bankapur, himself clumping opposite Devaraya<sup>38</sup>.

Devaraya now sent express messengers to Gujarat, Khandesh and Malwa for help as these states were supposed to be hostile to the Kingdom of the Deccan, but to his great chagrin no help arrived. On the other hand Bankapur felt to Sarnaubat Siddhu, and Khan-i-Khanam came back from the south with a large number of prisoner<sup>39</sup>. There were great rejoicings in the Sultan's camp, but Vijayanagara was still intractable Firoz Shah decided to go and besiege Adoni, leaving the Khan-i-Khanam, who had proved his merit time and again to take the field against the Raya<sup>40</sup>. When the sultan was on the point of leaving, he heard that the Raya had sent his envoys to enter in to pour parlors with the chief minister Inju, who forthwith presented them to the sultan himself. The treaty which followed was more or less dictated by the Sultan and was as follows:

- 1) Devaraya should give his daughter in marriage to the king.
- 2) The Devraya should make a present of ten lakhs of hens, five maunds of pearls, fifty elephants and two thousand male and female slaves who should be accomplished in the arts of reading, writing, music and dancing.
- 3) Bankapur, which had already been taken, should be handed over to the Sultan as a dowry for the bride<sup>41</sup>.

After these conditions had been accepted a regular contract of marriage between the Muslim Sultan and the Hindu princess was entered into the first of its kind in the Deccan. The king was encamped seven farsakh or 21 miles from Vijayanagara. Old enmities were forgotten and a new and magnificent city sprang up extending between the royal camp and the capital with shops belonging to both Hindus and Muslims on either side of the road. The King's brother Khan-i-Khanam and the prime minister Inju were commissioned to go to Vijayanagara to fetch the bride, and when the bride had arrived the Sultan rode in state to pay a visit to his father-in-law at his capital. The gate of the city through which the royal cavalcade was to pass was about three farsakh from the Palace, and the Raya had ordered velvet and cloth of gold to be spread on the ten miles of the roadway. Devraya received his royal son-in-law at the gate of the city and the two sovereigns rode side by side while gold and silver flowers were strewn as they proceed forward. When the magnificent company which presented a grand spectacle of Hindu Muslim amity, arrived at the square in the centre of the city they were received by the Raya's relatives who crowded on both sides and followed them on foot to the palace.

It shows the extraordinary courage on the part of the Sultan and a complete, though only momentary, change of

hearts on behalf of the Raya, that the sultan stayed at the latter's palace for three days and was loaded with presents. He stayed there long enough to send for the goldsmith and his daughter from Mudgal and have her married to his son Hasan Khan. The girl's parents were given most valuable presents by the king and returned to their town happy and prosperous.

Unfortunately the peace so well devised by both the parties did not last very long. Firoz Shah was a cultured, pious and generous ruler. He took interest in literature, language, Science and Arts. He was an enlightened ruler and gathered around him philosophers, poets and historians. He constructed the new city of Firozabad on the Bhima River and occasionally used it as his capital. He developed two principal ports which attracted ships from various countries. He was an accomplished linguist and calligrapher. He made his brother Ahmed his chief minister and regulated the administration in an efficient manner.

During his period the famous Chishti Sufi saint Hazrat Khwaja Bandanawaz arrived in the Deccan, Sultan Firoz Shah invited him to settle down in his capital at Gulbarga.

Towards the end of his reign, he was troubled by both Vijayanagara and Telangana, added to this was the rift between him and the famous Chishtiya saint Hazrat Khwaja Sayed Muhammad Hussain Gesudaraz, also called Bandanawaz who

declared that the Sultan's brother Ahmed would be the next ruler instead of Hasan Khan, the son of Firoz Shah eventually, it did happen that Ahmed besieged the capital and ascended the throne at Gulbarga in September 1422 A.D. Firoz Shah died after few days.

### **Bidar Period:**

#### **Shihabuddin Ahmed – I (22-9-1422-17-4-1436)**

Ahmed Shah conformed rich endowments on the saint who had prophesied his accession to the throne and also rewarded his other friends to offices and other positions of power. Ahmed was a pious and God fearing person. However innocent of the death of his brother Firoz Shah he might have been, he must have heaved a sigh of relief when he heard that his brother was no more. At the very outset of his reign he had to undergo the shock of the death of his benefactor Hazrat Muhammad Hussaini Gesudaraz who had been Ahmed Shah's supporter ever since he came to settle down at Gulbarga, and it is no exaggeration to say that but for the support of the group which gathered round the saint, who had become a king of leader of opposition to Firoz Shah. Ahmed Shah would not have ousted his brother and his nephew from the throne so easy. It is possible that the saints' death was one of the causes for the

change of the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar<sup>42</sup>, and these causes must have contributed to bring about the decision as well. Before leaving Gulbarga, however, he ordered that a monument be raised above the mortal remains of the saint, and so it was that the present magnificent tomb, the glory of Gulbarga was erected.

The change of capital was really a symbol of the revolution which was taking place in the Bahmani state both in its inward and outward aspects. It was during his reign that the Egyptian grammarian, *Unarial-Makhzumi-ad-Damaniens*, visited<sup>43</sup>, where he copied out his Arabic grammar. The king encouraged the influx of learned men, poets and statesmen from abroad. Immediately after his accession, he campaigned against Vijayanagara to avenge the defeats of the previous reigns. A battle was fought on the banks of the Tungabhadra and was followed by great devastation of the Vijayanagara century. Ahmed Shah next led a raid into Gundawan and entered into an alliance with Khandesh.

Malwa and Gujarat both were potential enemies, Ahmed Shah naturally looked to Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh for an alliance, especially when he saw that Nasir Khan Faruqi was always afraid of the rising power of Gujarat. It was about this time that he sent Aziz Khan to Khandesh requesting that if he

gives the hand of his daughter Agha Zainab to the crown prince of the Deccan Alauddin. The girl was sent to Bidar for her marriage with Prince Alauddin and as has been related above, the capital was all effete for many weeks, the marriage took place at the hour allotted to it by astrologers, and after the ceremony was over the king distributed costly silken robes, jewels, pearls and ornaments to all those taking part in the function<sup>44</sup>.

During his period he invited many Sufi saints from in and around, he also invited to the Nimatullahi Sufi Shah Nimatullahi Kirmani, due to his old age, he never came to Bidar he sent his son and grandson to the Bidar, later Ahmed Shah Bahmani married his daughter to the Nimatullah Sufi and the sufis got high designations in the Bahmani court.

Ahmed Shah had been highly successful as a king, and when he died he was popular even to the extent of being regarded as a saint and respected by foreign powers as well as by his own people.

### **Alauddin Ahmed-II (17-4-1436-6-5-1458)**

Zafar Khan Ahmed Shah's son, who assumed the title of Ahmed-II on his accession, was a man of a different type<sup>45</sup>. The country wanted a strong personality to keep the balance between the elements which went to form the Bahmani Kingdom, where



as he was a weak-willed monarch, well entrenched no doubt, but prone to caprice and puissant. The result was almost a foregone conclusion, and the presence of a large number of new comers or Afaquis from over the seas created a great cleavage between them and the Deccanis or old concerns which had its unfortunate repercussions on the future of the Kingdom itself.

Alauddin Ahmed-II, who surrounded himself with a number of foreigners, the mutual jewelries, was a source of constant trouble during his reign. In 1453 A.D, Alauddin Ahmed-II was confined to his palace with an injury in the leg and this resulted in rumours being spread that he was dead. The Governor of Telangana invades Berar. Alauddin Ahmed-II to the field in person, and forced the king of Malwa to retire. The Governor of Telangana was defeated and capture by Mahmud Gawan who was then rising to power. Alauddin Ahmed-II died in 1458 A.D. He built a big hospital at Bidar; he also built a number of Mosques.

### **Alauddin Humayun Shah (7-5-1458-4-9-1461)**

Alauddin Ahmed-II had nominated his eldest son Humayun as heir to the throne. Humayun was harsh of temper and there was so much consternation among the nobles on his accession that some of them like Raja Rustum Nizam-ul-Mulk

and his son, who had become Malik-ul-Tujjar after the death of Qasim Baig Safshikan, fled from the country and took refuge in Gujrat<sup>46</sup>, while others like Shah Habibullah, Malik Khan proclaimed Humayun's brother Hasan Khan as king and seated him on the Turquoise throne. On the seeing the trend of events the rabble in the streets took advantage of this and collected in front of Humayun's residence in order to plunder it and even to put him to death.

Humayun was supported by his brother-in-law Shah Muhibullah, the younger brother of Shah Habibullah, who had preferred a religious life to the life a courtier by becoming the *Sajjada nashin* or spiritual successor of his father Shaikh Khalilullah Kirmani, the fact that a holy man Muhibullah was siding with Humayun, must have given the latter a moral preponderance which Hasan Khan lacked. It is related how with but eighty men by his elbow he fought through the crowd marched to the throne room of the palace, and slapped on the face of Hasan Khan, unseated him and himself ascended the throne. Hasan Khan and Habibullah along with their partners were taken in prison, this happened on 1458 A.D<sup>47</sup>.

Humayun, who had been known for his cruelty, his savagery earned for him the title of tyrant. His character was one of the enigmas of the history of the Deccan. Ferishtah paints him

in the blackest colours possibly ascribing to him the most heinous of crimes. He gives him the sobriquet of the cruel' without any reserve and tries to give evidence to prove his thesis. To quote his translator and epitomizer: Humayun threw off all restraint and seized will the children of his subjects, leaving them from their parents. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the streets, seizing the bride to enjoy her, and then send her to bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most tribal offences, and when any of the nobility was obliged to attend him, so great was their dread that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death. Burhan-i-Maasir is no doubt moderate of tone but still gives a few instances of his cruelty and agree with Ferishtah that people were so tired of his tyranny that the poet Nazir only voiced their feeling when he composed the following chronograph, transliteration;

*Humayun Shah mard-wa-rust Alam taalullah jahey Murg  
Humayun.*

*Jahan-bar-Jaokh Shud Tarikh Fautish hum aaj Jaokh Jahan  
Aarid Bairoon'*

**Translation;**

‘Humayun Shah is dead, and the world is cleansed thereby; God be the most high, what an auspicious death’

‘The world was full of joy on the date of his death so extract the date from the joy of the world’, 865’ A.H

Humayun reigned less than three years and a half, and the first thing to remember is that there was not a single campaign of aggression against his neighbours during the period. About this two rival groups, the Deccanis and the Afaquis. The Deccanis were domiciled Muslims and they looked upon their land as their particular preserve and viewed with suspicion every foreigner entering the Deccan as a future rival and a competitor for position at court. The Afaquis were not natives of the Deccan. They came to settle down here, some at the invitation of the Bahmani Sultans and other of their Persians and Turks most of them, who came as traders, settle down and took part in the politics of the country. Some of the Sultans showed a particular preference to these foreigners, which created in the minds of the Deccanis affecting of grievance. The majority of the foreigners were Shia as while most of the Deccanis were Sunnis. Humayun also favoured the foreigners and he made Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, the Governor of Bijapur though the Deccanis were not altogether excluded from office, they harbored a feeling of

resentment. These were two rebellions both of which were supposed with unexampled fire city. The sultan perpetrated deeds of great violence and, when he died in 1461 A.D, his subjects heaved a sigh of relief. It is said that he was assassinated while asleep.

### **Nizamuddin Ahmed-III (4-9-1461-30-7-1463)**

On Humayun's death, his son Ahmed-III succeeded to the throne as Nizamuddin Ahmed-III at the age of eight<sup>48</sup>. He was escorted to the Turquoise throne by Shah Muhibullah holding his right hand and Sayed Sharif, son of Sayed-us-Saadat Sayed Hanif, holding his left. It seems that the late King who was a good Judge of men and their worth, showed his foresight by nominating a council of frequency consisting of Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk and Malik-ul-Tujjar Mahmud Gawan with the Dowager Queen Makhduma-i-Jahan Nargis Begum having a casting vote. Immediately on the accession of the new king, Mahmud Gawan was appointed Jamlat-ul-Mulk, Wazir-i-Kul and Tarafdar of Bijapur, while Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk was named Wakil and Tarafdar of Telangana. Everyday when the king sat on the throne he was attended by Khwaja-i-Jahan on his right and Malik-ul-Tujjar on his left, and matters of state were carried on by these two counselors with the queen through a trusted lady by the

name of Mah Banu. As a matter of fact the master mind which ruled the country during the short reign of Nizamuddin Ahmed-III was that of this great Queen, one of most sagacious women India has produced. It is no small credit to her that she successfully presided over the triumvirate consisting, besides her; of two of the ablest men is the whole history of the Deccan.

During this time, the ruler of Telangana as also Khwaja Mahmud of Malwa invaded his kingdom the former was turned back, but the invasion of Mahmud posed a serious danger. The Bahmani forces had to sustain a defeat and the capital had to stand a siege. Ultimately, the ruler of Gujarat came to the help of the Bahmani Kingdom and the combined forces were successful in compelling the Malwa army to retreat.

After the Khilji's ingenious retreat, Ahmed-III wrote a letter of thanks to the king of Gujarat for all his kindness in coming to the aid of the Deccan.

But this was not the last scene of the Malwese drama, for the very next year, 1463, Mahmud Khilji again started from Mandu on 1462 on the Deccan horizon with a huge army of nearly 90,000 horse, and marched on without any opposition as far as Fathabad. King Ahmed again requested the help of Mahmud of Gujarat, and when in Rajab, April 1463 the Khilji came to know that his name sake of Gujarat had arrived at

Sultanpur to help the Deccan; he immediately retracted his steps back home.

Three months after this Ahmed-III died, on the very night of his marriage, on 1463, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muhammad Khan as Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah-III.

**Shamsuddin Muhammad-III (30-7-1463-26-3-1482) and Mahmud Gawan's Execution:**

Shamsuddin Muhammad-III was between nine and ten when he succeeded his elder brother. He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne by Shah Muhibullah (who had evidently been released by his captor Mahmud Khilji of Malwa) and Sayed Hanif the two divines who had likewise escorted his late brother Ahmed-III to the throne three years previously. The wise queen had trained her youthful son Ahmed from the outset to be forbearing to his younger brother Muhammad who became his constant playmate and companion. At the same time she appointed an eminent teacher of the time, Sharfuddin Sadr Jahan Shistan, to be the royal tutor, with the result that the new king became one of the most accomplished of the Sovereigns. The regency council carried on the government during the king's minority, as it had in the previous reign. Differences soon arose between Khwaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan. The queen mother

sided with Mahmud Gawan, who had taken great care to educate the king on right times. He was appointed Wakil-us-Sultanate or Prime Minister and remained in supreme authority till his execution in 1481 A.D. Mahmud Gawan was an able administrator and by fighting successfully against Orissa and Vijayanagara, he enlarged the boundaries of the Kingdom from Orissa to Goa. He brought under the Bahmani's way the whole of northern Karnataka. The Sultan himself showed a great military leadership in his campaigns which earned for him the title of 'Lashkar'. The new conquests enriched the sources of the Kingdom. Niketan, the Russian Traveller, who visited Bidar in 1470 A.D. described it, as "The chief town of the whole of Muhammadan Hindustan".

The Bahmani Kingdom then extended from sea to sea of the four provinces, two were held by Mahmud Gawan and Yusuf Adil Khan, both Afghans and the two others, Telangana and Berar, by Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk and Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk. The leader of the foreigners was Yusuf Adil Khan, who gathered around himself many foreigners. In 1472 A.D., the Rajas of Belgaum and Bankapur tried to recover Goa for the Hindu empire. Mahmud Gawan and Muhammad-III march against Bankapur, which surrendered and its territory was annexed and given to Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's charge. Soon



after the queen mother, one of the few remarkable women that had appeared in the ruling dynasties of medieval India's and whose advice was often sought by her son, died. She had been a steady supporter of Mahmud Gawan, who felt her loss perhaps much more kindly than even her son. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan now spent over three years in Telangana and completed its subjugation. The province which had become very big was divided into two with capitals at Rajamahendry and Warangal. This was a part of the scheme of general reform of administration planned by Mahmud Gawan. Shortly there after, Mahmud Gawan divided the vastly over grown tarafs into eight, under separate Governors. The power of the tarafdar was also curtailed. Mahmud Gawan also improved the pattern of revenue administration by organizing a proper survey and assessment. These reforms made him popular with the Deccan. Matters came to a head in 1481 A.D. When the Deccani party contrived to get Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's seal affixed to a forged letter purporting to invite the King of Orissa to invade the Kingdom. This letter was placed in the sultan's hand. Mahmud Gawan was thus falsely accused and he was put to death by the sultan's order. The death of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was a grievous blow to the Bahmani power, as he alone was able person to the ambitious nobles of the court. He might have healed the fend

between the two parties. This great crime was the immediate cause of dissolution of the Bahmani kingdom. The Afaquis refused to stay in the capital and even some responsible persons of the Deccani party openly disapproved dethrone of the conspiracy and joined the camp of Yusuf Adil Khan. There was also a plan to assassinate Yusuf Adil Khan, but he was alerted in time so that he could retire to Bijapur. Shamsuddin Muhammad-III's reign is one of the tragedies in the history of the Deccan. It saw the greatest triumphs of Khawaja-i-Jahan Mahmud Gawan, and so long as this minister had control over the affairs of the Kingdom the Bahmani state attained heights of prosperity which it had never reached before.

### **Shihabuddin Mahmud (26-3-1482-27-12-1518)**

The long reign of Shihabuddin Mahmud Shah Bahmani<sup>49</sup>, which extended to more than a quarter of a century, was a period of gradual weakening of the state ending in the description of the splendid edifice which had been built up by the earlier Bahmani at Gulbarga and then by a series of capable ruler and ministers at Bidar. It was perhaps coming to a certain premonition of what was to come that the late Sultan had appointed Mahmud as heir to the throne and made the nobles and high officials swear allegiance in his own lifetime. But this

was of no avail. With an utter lack of leadership at Bidar, especially after Nizam-ul-Mulk's murder, and the want of decentralizing tendencies which began to eat into the roots of the state. It is strange that, while there was no dearth of capable men in the Deccan, hardly one of them had the real interest of the state at heart, while on the other hand, they were actually digging out the very foundation of structure. In the beginning they tried to get the control of the Sultan, but as there were too many of them and each was an equal match for the other, they left Mahmud Shah with just a few acres round the capital<sup>50</sup>, and carved out large principalities for themselves. It is, however, hard to break a deep-rooted tradition, and not one of them, not even Qasim Barid<sup>51</sup>, the man who had full personal control on the Sultan, dared to dethrone the puppet king<sup>52</sup>, and wherever the Sultan went he was received with ample respect<sup>53</sup>.

Taking advantage of the continued discussions and struggle between different sections of the nobility of the Bahmani Kingdom, the Bijapur forces captured Gulbarga and drove away its governor. The forces of disintegration were now in full swing. Mahmud Shah was succeeded by four Kings, Ahmed-IV (1518-1520), Alauddin Shah (1520-1523), Waliullah (1523-1526), and Kalimullah (1526-1538), who were Kings only in name<sup>54</sup>. The last King of the house of Bahmani Shah was Kalimullah and after

him, the Bahmani dynasty came to an end, making way for the five independent Sultanates of the Deccan.

## References:

1. Haroon Khan Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p.35
2. *Ibid*
3. M.A. Nayeem, *Foreign culture Relations of the Bahmanis, studies in the Foreign Relations of India*, Hyderabad, “Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah lies buried in a mausoleum about a couple of furlongs from the south gate of the Fort in free view of the two tall Adil Shahi Minarets of the tomb of his preceptor, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi”, p. 390.
4. K.M. Munshi, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p.250
5. *Ibid*
6. K.N. Shashtri, *A History of South India*, p.252
7. *Ibid*
8. The King first sat on the new throne on the solar Nau-roz or Persian New Year following the autumnal solstice in 764 Hijri , *Ferishtah* ; Vol-I, p.282.
9. R.C. Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p.251
10. *Ibid*
11. H.K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p.52
12. M.A. Nayeem, *The Heritage of the Bahmanis and Baridis of the Deccan*, p.5
13. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, vol-I, p.268.

14. The great mosque of Gulbarga was completed during his times. This is the only mosque in India which has no open court yard. H.K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p.159
15. M.A. Nayeem, *The Heritage of the Bahmanis and Baridis of the Deccan*, p.6
16. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, vol-I, p.296.
17. H.K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p.58
18. *Ibid*
19. Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, Urdu, *Tazkira-i-Salatin-i-Deccan*, p.388, Hyderabad, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, p.296, quotes from *Bahman Nama*. As he stretched his legs out of his cradle, He opened his hands and arms for the arrow and the bow.
20. Rehmat Tarkeri, *Karnatakada Sufigalu*, (Kannada), p.155
21. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, vol-I, p.300.
22. Thus in Ferishtah, vol-I, p.300. *Burhan-i-Maasir*, says that the king was murdered on the banks of the Krishna.
23. K.N. Shashtri, *A History of South India*, p.245
24. H.Chittranjan, *Gulbarga District Gazetteer*, p.57
25. *Ibid*
26. Khan Muhammad was Dawood's cousin; *Ibid*, p.301.

27. R.C. Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p.253
28. All this happened during the course of one day, *i.e.*, 1378.  
  
The blinding of the boy Sanjar was the first instance of such a deed in the history of the Deccan and this was perhaps precedent for similar blinding of two of Muhammad's reigns according to Ferishta, for 19 years of months and 20 days according to *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, for 19 years, 9 months and 24 days. Both are definite that the next king Ghiyasuddin ascended the throne on 799 Hijri respectively.
29. Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol-I, p.305.
30. M.A. Nayeem, *The Heritage of the Bahmanis and Baridis of the Deccan*, p.8
31. A.M. Siddiqui, Malik Saifuddin Ghorî, *Indian History congress*, calculation, 1939.
32. M.A. Nayeem, *The Heritage of the Bahmanis and Baridis of the Deccan*, p.9
33. Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol-I, p.304. This is the first time we hear of the Peshwaship, then only a second rate office.
34. *Ibid*
35. I.H. Qureshi, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p.254

36. Tughalchin, is called a manumitted Turkish slave;  
Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, vol-I, p.304.
37. I.H. Qureshi, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p.255
38. *Ibid*
39. Shamsuddin was a son of Muhammad-II by a female slave;  
sec Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, vol-I,  
p.304.
40. B. Shaikh Ali, *Karnataka Charitrika Samputa-3* (Kannada),  
p.256
41. Harihara's son Bukha-II was succeeded by his brother the  
young Devaraya-I towards the end of 1406 A.D, who soon got  
entangled with a love affairs which was destined to open a  
new chapter in the social relations between the Hindu and  
Muslims ; sec Briggs, vol-II, p.378-06, Bukka-II,1404-06,  
Devaraya-I,1406-22.
42. According to Ferishtah 60,000, but this can only be an  
exaggeration.
43. *Burhan-i-Maasir*, p.43, says that the sum paid 33 Lakhs of  
tankas which were in arrears. This amount is nearly equal to  
10 Lakhs of luns.
44. The little Shihabuddin occurring a tablet which is now  
built into the payer niche of an old Mosque at Rauza; a  
suburb of Sagar; sec EIM, 1231-32, p.16.



45. Ahmed's Sainthood is recognized by many present day inhabitants of the Deccan. Both Hindu and Muslim, the Muslim calling him Hazrat Ahmed Shah Wali and the Hindu Alam Prabhu one sees in particular on the occasion of the Sultan is Urs, holder of Hindu and Muslim, men and women, standing on the grave begging the real king's intercession with once brought rain to the famine stricken Deccan. He was a great believer in the supernatural in Hazrat Gesudaraz and Shah Niamutullah Kirmani, see Zahiruddin Ahmed Shah Bahman chapter-II.
46. When he was returning from Khandesh, he stayed in Bidar for some time and was so struck by its situation and climate that he decided to build a new city there called Ahmedabad Bidar. This becomes the new capital of the Bahmani rulers.
47. It was in the Gulbarga period where the Ahmed got throned.
48. Burhan-i-Maasir, p.55.56; Ferishta; vol-I, p.327, says that the expedition was undertaken in 1426-27.
49. Ahmed Shah Wali died on 1436. His son Ahmed-II reigned. The name Ahmed is found in Abdur Razzaque, Matla-us-Sadain, Eliot and Dowson, *op.cit.*, p. 121, This is corroborated by his coins which read;

**Transliteration;**

I) obv: *Al-Sultan Al-Halim Al-Karim Rauf Ala-Ibaad Allahi  
Al-Ghani Al-Bahmani.*

Rev: *Abu-al-Muzaffar Ala-ud-duniya-wa-din Ahmed Shah  
bin Ahmed Shah Afi-Al-Bahmani*

Margin; *Jarb-bu-hijra Muhammadbad-809 A.H.*

II) Obv: *Al-Mastan Ba-Allah Al Hannan Al-Mannan sami  
Khalil-ul-Rahman.*

Rev : *Alad duniya-wa-din Ahmed Shah-bin-Ahmed Shah  
Al-sultan.*

III) obv : *Al mut-wa-kkal Al-Allah al-Ghani Rev ; Ahmed Shah  
bin Ahmed Shah- Wali Al-Bahmani.*

50. Tarikh-i-Ferishtah ; vol-I, p..339

51. Ibid, Mallu fled towards Karnataka.

52. The name of Humayun successor is given by Ferishtah, and Burhan as Nizam Shah and is so corroborated by Burhan, but there is no doubt that his full name was Nizamuddin Ahmed Shah (Riyaz-ul-Insha) ; were the full name is clearly mentioned in Mahmud Gawan's letter to Shaikh Dawood, envoy of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa. This is also corroborated by the legends on the king's coins (transliteration)

Obv ; *Al-mustansir ba Nasirullah-al-Kavi*

Rev ; *Ahmed Shah bin Humayun Shah-al-Bahmani.*

53. *Burhan-i-Maasir*, p.96, given the story of Humayun's treatment that Mahmud Gawan should place on the throne one of the three sons of Humayun whom he right regard as being the fittest for the exalted office. This is hardly likely especially as the eldest Ahmed , was only eight ; consequently there was no question of his superiority on the score of fitness ; Ferishtah ; vol-I, p.343 Full name in *Tabqati-i-Akbari* ; P.P.403 as well as in an inscriptions on Sayed-us-Saadat spring at Bidar, for which see EIM ; 1925-26 : P.P. 18
54. It is related by Ferishtah ; vol-I, p.374 that whenever the Sultan wanted more money than was given to him by Amir Barid he was told that the whole of the Deccan was left as the authority of the Governor's and what was left as the King's domain was not sufficient for keeping up the emblems of royalty.

## CHAPTER – III

### CONTRIBUTION OF MALIK SAIFUDDIN GHORI

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#### **Early Life and Career:**

After the establishment of Bahmani Sultanate, the first act of the new Sultan Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah was to transfer his title of Zafar Khan to Prince Muhammad, a title which revived the memories of his benevolent and gallant uncle Zafar Khan Alai, and which had proved of such a good omen to him as well. The prince was betrothed to the daughter of senior Amir, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, who now became Wakil-i-Mutlaq or Prime Minister. Malik Saifuddin Ghorī was also one of the Amirs of a group called as Amiran-i-Saadah during the period of Muhammad bin Tughluq; he also served in Ismail Muḥ's reign then later under Bahmanis<sup>1</sup>.

It is interesting to note that Alauddin Hasan was not satisfied with being Sultan of a part of India only but wished to sit in the seat of the Tughluqs and unite the whole of the Indian sub-continent under his scepter. He wanted firstly to cross the Tungabhadra and conquer the land as far as Rameshwaram and Maabar or the Coromandal coast and then to cross Godavari and subdue Gujarat, Malwa and Gwalior, perhaps finally capturing Delhi itself. But the wise and loyal Minister Malik Saifuddin

Ghori opposed this ambitious project saying that the far south was absolutely full of jungles and unfit for a successful expedition. He reminded the king that Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad bin Tughluq had both been unsuccessful in the long run to subdue the south and it was with difficulty that they had been able to bring back even one-tenth of the personnel of their armies back from these arduous campaigns. The Malik Saifuddin Ghori, therefore, advised the Sultan to pacify the Deccan table-land first and then to proceed to Malwa and Gujarat. The sultan now ordered his military commanders to proceed to different parts of the Deccan which were still held by those who were opposing his hegemony. He sent Hussain Gurshasp to Kotgir and Qandhar, Raziuddin Qutub-ul-Mulk to the south-west, Malik Maqbool, now entitled Qir Khan to Kalyani (Modern Basavakalyan), and Sikander Khan towards Tilangana and ordered the army of Miraj to proceed to Gulbarga under Ainuddin Khwajah-i-Jahan<sup>2</sup>.

At the time of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah's death the extent of the territory under his immediate rule extended from Mandu in the north to Raichur in the south and from Bhongir in the east to Dabul and Goa in the west, while the Rayas on the banks of the Krishna as well as the Raya of Warangal paid him tribute. He divided his dominions into four large divisions;

1. Ahsanabad-Gulbarga along with Raichur and Mudgal was put in the charge of the minister, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī.
2. Daulatabad, with Bir, Junar and Chaul was put in the charge of Sultan's nephew Muhammad bin Ali Shah.
3. Berar and Mahur were placed under Safdar Khan Sistani.
4. Indur, Kaulas and the Bahmani Tilangana was placed under Azam-i-Humayaun, son of Malik Saifuddin Ghorī<sup>3</sup>.

This description of Alauddin Hasan's reign would show the character of the new Sultan of the Deccan. There is not a single campaign either against the partisans of the Tughluq faction or against the Hindu Rajas and Muqaddams in which he showed the slightest hint of cruelty, and it invariably happened that after the campaign was over, the Sultan or his representative made a gift of the territory back to the erstwhile enemy to be held as jagir. This was the reason why such powerful rulers as the Raya of Warangal accepted the sultan's hegemony without any blood being shed, and began to be regarded as honoured friends and allies of the new state. As Isami says, "Alauddin Hasan had all the three qualities of a good sovereign; he always gave relief to the oppressed, he was always kind to the poor and took pains to obey the Divine commandments<sup>4</sup>.

His treatment of his own subordinates who chose to be rebellious or conspired against him, is a different story. To them

he was very stern and it was this which kept his former equals and comrades under strict discipline. Thus, in spite of Sikandar's recommendation that the life of the rebel Qir Khan might be spared, he made him an example for all others, and had him beheaded. The same fate awaited his predecessors entitled Shamsuddin, formerly Sultan Nasiruddin Ismail, who was accused of complicity in a conspiracy against the sultan. On the renunciation of his kingship, Ismail had been an Amir-ul-Umara and the chief noble of the Sultanate. He was given a place on the left of the sultan's person at the royal darbar and it was a matter of etiquette that, when he entered the hall, the sultan paced a few steps forward to receive him. When Malik Saifuddin Ghorî was appointed Prime Minister he was given precedence over Ismail for, as the sultan explained, it had been the custom among the rulers of old that the chief minister took precedence over the Amir-ul-Umara<sup>5</sup>. This, of course, silenced Ismail, but it seems that he was instigated by others to plot against the sultan. The sultan got an intimation of what was going on, and asked Ismail in open court to which he had invited some of the most eminent men of the city, whether he had been plotting against his person, to which he swore that it was a lie and that he was innocent of the charge, the sultan now addressed the audience and promised full pardon for all those who would tell

the truth, at which a number of the courtiers asserted that the charge of the conspiracy was absolutely correct to their personal knowledge. The sultan thereupon struck Ismail with his own sword and killed him immediately<sup>6</sup>. This was the second execution of its kind in open court in the Deccan, and however just it might have been, there is no doubt that it set a precedent for other Bahmani sovereigns of a more unscrupulous nature to do away with some of the best of their ministers and subjects<sup>7</sup>.

### **Relations with Bahmani Sultans:**

The royal task for magnificence is shown by the splendid festivities which took place on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince and heir, Zafar Khan, who later ascended the throne as Muhammad Shah-I Bahmani, to Malik Saifuddin Ghorī's daughter, later entitled as Shah Begum. This marriage is interesting as it throws a certain amount of light on the social conditions which prevailed then in the country. It was on 1351 A.D. that the heir to the throne was actually married but the rejoicings connected with his auspicious occasion lasted for a whole year right up to 1352 A.D, when the sultan distributed the thousand pieces of cloth of gold, velvet and silk, a thousand Arab and Iraqi horses and twelve bejeweled swords to the nobles of his



entourage, while grain was distributed to all and sundry, and cooked food to the poor and the needy of the capital<sup>8</sup>.

When Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah ascended the throne in 1347 A.D there were three major factions in the Deccan all trying to get the best of the turmoil, namely, those who stood for an independent Deccan under the new dynasty, those who were partisans of the Tughluq faction and local chiefs and Muqaddams who had in mind own aggrandizement. Alauddin was successful in coping with all antagonistic elements and left the sultanate to his son Muhammad Shah as peaceful as was possible under the circumstances. He had kept up fairly good relations with the chiefs of Tilangana and Vijayanagar and while the former were so friendly as to be invited to the marriage of the Crown Prince, the ruler of Tilangana had shown his inclination towards keeping with the Bahmanis on terms of friendship by sending as a present a priceless ruby which Muhammad affixed to a bejeweled *huma* or bird of good omen which he setup on the top end of his umbrella<sup>9</sup>. The land was, however, still infested with non-descript thieves and robbers, and Muhammad took care to stem lawlessness by ordering the governors of his newly created provisions to give no quarters to those who were interfering with the peaceful evolution of the sultanate. It is related how the heads of thousands of such thugs and dacoits

were sent to the capital in the course of six months. Naturally this could have only one effect peaceful and law-abiding<sup>10</sup>.

While the credit of proclaiming the independence of the Deccan goes to Nasiruddin Ismail, and while Alauddin Hasan was the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, Muhammad Shah-I was the organizer of the sultanate and the founder of its institutions. As the centre and apex of the new sultanate he was careful enough to clothe his own person with all the paraphernalia of royalty and made his daily darbar as resplendent and ceremonious as became the ruler of a mighty state<sup>11</sup>. Every day except Friday carpets of silk of the highest order were spread and *Shamiyanas* of cloth-of-gold erected for the reception of all and sundry. The sultan arrived at the darbar hall when an eighth part of the day (one *peher*) had expired and was at work till the call to the afternoon prayers i.e., about an hour after the solar noon. In the beginning of his reign he was content with the silver throne bequeathed to him by his father, but this was replaced on March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1363 A.D by the magnificent *Takht-i-Firoza* or Turquoise Throne sent to him by the Raya of Tilangana. The throne was made of ebony and was three yards long by two yards broad, and was called the Turquoise Throne as it was originally covered with an enamel of turquoise hue; but each new Sultan after Muhammad Shah-I

Bahmani added fresh jewels and ornaments to it till there was nothing visible except precious stones<sup>12</sup>.

The throne was placed in the Aiwan-i-Bar-i-Aam or hall of public audience. The new sultan was jealous of his prestige even with those who had been the co-adjustors of his father, so when his own father-in-law Malik Saifuddin Ghorî saw his inclinations in his respect he excused himself from taking a seat in the royal presence, and henceforward no one dared to sit in the darbar. Besides being a former colleague of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah and the father-in-law of the sultan Malik Saifuddin Ghorî was also the man who is said to have laid down the principles of monarchical government in the brochure named *Nasaih-ul-Mulk*. This brochure, after the fashion of the medieval Muslim writers, was a kind of compendium of advice which had been offered to his royal master and kinsman<sup>13</sup>. It is addressed to the sultan himself and gives the qualities requisite for a successful monarch, the place and conditions of counsel, the need for appointing the best man possible to every post, high or low, the division of officers into men of "Sword and the Standard" and men of "Knowledge and Pen", and the qualities pertaining to high civil officers such as the Wakil (Prime Minister), Wazir (Minister), Dabir (Secretary), Military Officers such as Sarhaddar (Warder of the Marches), Qillahdar (Commander of Fortress), Bakhshi

(Paymaster), Judicial Officers like Qazi (Judge), Mufti (one who interpreted the law), Police Officers such as Kotwal (Commissioner of Police), Muhtasib (Censor of Public Morals) and others<sup>14</sup>.

As regards the sultan himself, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī says that he should be lucky enough to come in possession of the sultanate while still young, should be able to discern hidden qualities in men as well as the true bearing of the ways of his enemies, should not take unfortunate occurrences too much to heart, should be good to others, have high moral standards, and at the same time should be ready to support the poor and the learned, be an adept in diplomacy and have other qualities which might make him respected and exalted<sup>15</sup>. He should do everything which would make the army loyal to him and should try to bring the hypocrites and the half-hearted over to his side, or else, if he is not successful in this, should dismiss them in such a manner that they may not be able to create disturbances in the land. He should avoid those fond of ease and comfort and others who are prone to be too free with him for their own gain. He admonishes the sultan to be over ready to take counsel of those who are learned and fit to advise him<sup>16</sup>. He further addresses the Royal Majesty and says that he should appoint only such persons to various offices as should be fit for them

regarding both their general character and efficiency, for “experts of bad character as well as honest men who are ignorant of the duties they have to perform, both bring a sultanate to utter ruin”<sup>17</sup>.

The brochure was thus a compendium of the ideals of kingship and of the way in which the more important offices of state were to be filled. The author had been appointed Wakil-i-Sultanate or Prime Minister by the first Bahmani and had retained his post partly because of his tact, illustrated by the respect he showed to his son-in-law, the sultan, as also perhaps owing to his acting upon the precepts laid down in the *Nasaih-ul-Mulk*. The brochure, however, can best be regarded as containing the ideals of a Prime Minister rather than the constitution of the sultanate as accepted by the sultan himself. It is, however, of some value as describing the perquisites of the high offices of the Bahmani sultanate<sup>18</sup>.

It was no doubt with the advice of his chief minister that Muhammad Shah-I organized the administration of the sultanate which continued practically right up to the end of the Bahmani period. As has been remarked elsewhere Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah's reign had seen an extension of the sultanate from Mandu to Raichur and from Bhongir to Dabul and Goa while the Rayas of the Krishna country as well as the

Raya of Tilangana paid tribute to him. During the early years of the sultanate most of the time of the sultan was taken up by military campaigns and the country was governed more or less under martial law. Muhammad Shah-I, however, put the administration on semi-civil basis. He divided the sultanate into a *taraf* or provinces centered at Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga, entitling the provincial governors respectively as *Masnad-i-Ali*, *Majlis-i-Ali*, *Azam-i-Humayun* and *Malik-i-Naib*. The province of Gulbarga, which included Bijapur, was regarded as the most important of all and was usually given to one commanded the confidence of the sultan to the greatest degree and hence was called *Malik-i-Naib* or Viceroy<sup>19</sup>.

### **Military Achievements:**

The military forces were likewise organized. The commander-in-chief was henceforward known as Amir-ul-Umara and a group of officers called Barbardaram were created whose duty it was to mobilize the troops in time of need. There were, besides, two hundred who were called Yakka Jawan or Silahdaran who were in charge of the personal arms of the sultan. Besides these there was a well-equipped force of four thousand body guard of the sultan who were called Khaskhel.

Under the sultan's orders fifty Silahdars and of the Khaskhel had to attend the royal person every day<sup>20</sup>.

The stability of the sultan and his government, as in the case of all medieval governments, depended entirely on the military. The Bahmanis tried to ensure strong and efficient army and appointed men of great confidence to head the military department. Isami informs that soon after the establishment of the new sultanate. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah appointed Shamsuddin Ismail Mukh as Amir-ul-Umara or chief of the military department. He was responsible for the entire administration of the military. Besides this, Bahman Shah also assigned the portfolio of chief minister<sup>21</sup>.

### **War with Tilangana:**

When the Sultan's message, which of course was in the negative, was communicated to the two rulers their reply was to join forces. The Raya of Tilangana sent his son Vinayak Dev from Warangal with a large army consisting of infantry as well as cavalry, towards the fortress of Kaulas while Vijayanagara sent twenty thousand troops to kanya Nayak's help. Against these the Sultan sent the Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur Khan, son of Ismail Mukh, Azam-i-Humayun and Safdar Khan Sistani along with the army of Berar and Bidar. The main royal force met the allied

army near Kaulas, defeated it and pursued it as far as the gates of Warangal. But this was not the end of the unfortunate Tilanaga affairs<sup>22</sup>.

The Andhra population was thereupon greatly enraged against the Sultan and when he retraced his steps to the capital by way of Bidar he was harassed by guerillas from tree tops and roofs of old buildings so that out of four thousand cavalry which had left Gulbarga barely one thousand five hundred reached the capital. Muhammad was himself wounded by a musket ball and had to be carried in a palanquin to Kaulas where he met the forces sent by Malik Saifuddin Ghorī which escorted him back to the capital<sup>23</sup>.

### **War with Vijayanagara:**

As may well be imagined, the Sultan was not very happy over the conduct of the Raya of Vijayanagara, and now that accounts had been settled with Tilangana, he wanted to give his southern neighbor a lesson. It was perhaps in order to ascertain his attitude as well as to test his political superiority that Muhammad had recourse to a cynical ruse which otherwise would be incomprehensible. What he did was to draw a formal draft on the Vijayanagara treasury for the payment of the wages of about three hundred qawwals from Delhi who sang to music,



among other compositions, the poems of Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. The musicians had probably come to attend the marriage of Prince Mujahid with the daughter of Nasiru'd-din Isma'il son of Bahadur Khan which was celebrated about this time<sup>24</sup>. The cheques were sent to Vijayanagara forthwith, but when the bearers arrived at the capital of the southern kingdom, Bukka, who was now secure on the Vijayanagara throne, took advantage of the occasion by making them ride on donkeys in the streets of Vijayanagara. He was greatly incensed by the insult offered to him and immediately started to attack the Bahmani kingdom with eighty thousand cavalry, nine lakhs of infantry and three thousand elephants, making Adoni his headquarters. The Bahmani armies of Berar and Bidar had gone through an arduous campaign in Tilangana recently, so the Sultan allowed them some respite and ordered Khan Muhammad to go south with the army of Daulatabad<sup>25</sup>. Before starting himself he sent Prince Mujahid, with a fifth part of the booty from Palampet, to his preceptor Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi requesting it among the Sayeds, the pious and the poor at his own discretion, and begged him to pray for the success of the campaign he was now to undertake. In the meantime the Raya had crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Mudgal which had been garrisoned by barely eight thousand soldiers, putting to the sword men,

women and children who came in his way. It is related that out of eight thousand only one person was able to fly to Gulbarga to relate the sorry tale<sup>26</sup>.

Sultan was greatly perturbed at the report, and after formally proclaiming his son Mujahid to the throne and giving Malik SaifuddinGhori “full powers over the country and the treasury” Crossed the Krishna. The very appearance of the Sultan at Mudgal was enough to put Vijayanagara army to flight and the Sultan entered it triumphantly. It is related by Ferishtah that he killed seventy thousand of the enemy, and he adds quoting Tuhfatu’s-Salatin, that he captured two thousand elephants, three hundred gun carriages seven hundred Arab steeds and one bejeweled throne – all this besides the booty which fell to the nobles<sup>27</sup>.

The Sultan spent the rainy season there after which he moved southwards with a large army, and crossing the Tungabhadra entered the territory of Vijayanagara. This campaign is remarkable as it was the first time that cannon and fire-arms were freely used by the Bahmanis. The artillery was evidently in charge of “Turks and Franks,” this being the first time that mention is made of Europeans serving on the soil of the Deccan, and the whole department was placed under Muqarrab Khan son of Safdar Khan Sistani. Bukka hearing of

this movement gathered together practically all the fighting forces of his kingdom and placing his maternal nephew in charge of the fort of Adoni came out himself to give battle to the Bahmani army. He appointed Bhojmal Rai commander-in chief of his forces which amounted to forty thousand cavalry and five lakhs of footmen<sup>28</sup>. This officer was so sanguine of his success as to ask his master whether he should bring the Sultan alive or dead, whereon he got the formal permission of the Raya to kill him if need be and bring his body to the foot of the Vijayanagara throne ! Muhammad on his part crossed the Tungabhadra near the present town of Siruguppa with fifteen thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand infantry, out of which he ordered Khan Muhammad to advance forward with ten thousand cavalry, thirty thousand infantry and the whole of artillery when the opposing forces were barely 12 kroh from one another, Battle was joined somewhere near the village of Kautalam on 1366. The centre of the Bahmani army was led by Khan Muhammad, the right flank by Musa Khan Afghan and the left by 'Isa Khan Afghan<sup>29</sup>. The two flanks were in great danger when both these commanders were killed by musket balls and it seemed that the Bahmani army would soon be routed. Muhammad Shah, however, appeared with three thousand cavalry at the nick of time. The tables were now turned. The two forces came to close

grips and there was a terrible hand-to-hand fight, when Khan Muhammad's elephant, Sher-i Shikar, advanced into the enemy lines killing the commander-in-chief, Bhojmal Rai outright. The battle ended in the defeat of the Vijayanagara<sup>30</sup>.

After spending a week at Adoni mopping up the remnant of the Vijayanagaris, the Sultan marched to the city of Vijayanagara itself. The Raya now had recourse to guerilla warfare in which the Deccanis had been a failure in the last Tilangana campaign, while effectively defending his capital in full force. The Sultan was so hard pressed that he preferred to retreat rather than follow up a campaign which might end disastrously<sup>31</sup>. He was, however, afraid of the consequences which the acceptance of defeat might create on the army, so he feigned illness and inability to lead the forces. The retreating army was hotly pursued by the Raya's forces, the guerillas sometimes actually entering the mobile columns and cutting them to pieces. But when the Sultan was in his own land after crossing the Tungabhadra, he ordered the army to stop and attack the Raya's camp in full force where he was engaged in music, dancing and drinking. In an instant, it is said, the Hindu camp was full of cries of Allahu Akbar and Raya had to retreat, not stopping till his capital was reached<sup>32</sup>.

Bukka now called together the chiefs of his kingdom and took counsel from them. They were unanimous that just as his predecessor was on friendly terms with Bahman Shah so it would be far better if he were to have friendly relations with the present Sultan. Envoys were, therefore, sent to the Sultan's camp requesting peace and appealing for brotherly relations between the two neighbouring states. On hearing this the Sultan smiled and said that he did not wish more than the allowance of the Delhi musicians should be paid from the Vijayanagara treasury and the draft which he had signed should be duly honored<sup>33</sup>. The musicians also had something to say to this, and after begging the Sultan's pardon they suggested that the massacres committed by the Sultan were entirely against all the precepts of Islam as many women and children were also put to death by those who called themselves votaries of that sublime faith, and this was not allowed—far less enjoined—by Islam. The king was greatly touched by this appeal and ordered that in any future campaign engaged on behalf of the Bahmani's only the actual combatants should be put to death and no prisoner of war should ever be molested<sup>34</sup>.

### **Other Contributions:**

Malik Saifuddin Ghorī made many contributions to the Bahmani dynasty, during the time of Muhammad Shah-I who was a son-in-law of him, Muhammad made him, the chief minister. Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, stand at the foot of the throne. Shaikh Zainu'd-din's episode, however, shows how a king of those days of the caliber of Muhammad-I, had to bow before the force of superior character, and how he could forsake evil when called upon to do so. He was always ready to listen to the superior direction of the divines, and always counted on the prayers of Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi whenever he set out on a campaign<sup>35</sup>. When a prince, he had been taught the gentlemanly arts of archery and fencing, and although prone to drink, there is nothing known against him so far as private morality is concerned. When he died he was at peace with Tilangana, with Vijayanagara, with his subjects both Hindu and Muslim, and with his God. It is said that he treated his soldier and the civilian, officer and subject, with kindness and concern. He always sought the company of the learned and it was due to this that men like Shaikhul-Masha'ikh Zainu'd-din Daulatabadi, 'Ainu'd-din Bijapuri, Maulana Nizamu'd-din Barani, Hakim Zahiru'd-din Tabrizi crowded his capital and made the Deccan "the centre of the learned and the envy of all parts of India"<sup>36</sup>.

Muhammad was himself a poet of some note and his three lines which are quoted by Ferishtah are fairly elegant and lucid in style. He spoke both Arabic and Persian well and appointed teachers in different centers of the kingdom such as Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Junnar Chaul, Dabul and other large cities and towns. He also granted scholarships to students who wished to study the Islamic lore. Fazul'l-lah himself educated the princes of the royal family and later rose to high office<sup>37</sup>. It is noticeable that this early arrival of Iranians and Iraqis from over the seas was viewed with equanimity by even the most thoughtful, and it is significant that Malik SaifuddinGhori is related to have admonished the king that he should always give preference to the progeny of the Apostle of Islam i.e., Sayeds from karbala, Najaf and Medina as well as nobles with ancestral traditions<sup>38</sup>.

This immigration of Arabs, Persians and Turks had a decided effect upon the culture and future history of the Deccan. Foreign influence was already felt in the reign of Muhammad I and was visible in the matter of military as well as civil architecture such as the Gulbarga mosque and the fort of Panah-i-Islam at Bhingar<sup>39</sup>. The Deccan possessed a great figure in Malik SaifuddinGhori who was the right-hand man of five Sultans and must have taken a decisive part in putting the

kingdom on a sound basis. After his death on 22.7.799/21.4.1397 the field seems to have been clear for any adventurer who might step in, and the episode of the Turk Taghalchin who blinded and deposed Muhammad II's son and successor Ghiyasu'd-din and was strong enough to put a puppet, Shamsu'd-din, on the throne, indicated the way the wind was blowing. This almost imperceptible beginning of the problem of the Afaqis became a question of great magnitude in future years<sup>40</sup>.

Along with this influence which was definitely foreign in character, we find the native Hindu also influencing the cultural structure of the Bahmanis. The third of this line, Mujahid, was affectionately called by his subjects by a purely Hindu sobriquet Balwant or the Strong. Moreover, although time had not arrived for intermarriages between the Muslims and the Hindus which we find in the reign of Firoz later, the relations between the upholders of the two great cultures must have been excellent, for we already perceive the influence of Hindu culture creeping, however slowly, even in the sacred buildings of the Bahmanis<sup>41</sup>. From Mujahid right up to Firoz all the Bahmani sovereigns are buried in a series of mausoleums which are collectively known as the Haft Gumbad or the Seven Domes; and although the architecture of the tombs of the sovereigns from Mujahid to



Shamsu'd-din has extricated itself from Iranian influence perceived in the Jami Masjid of the Fort, and has reverted to the orthodox Tughluq pattern of its sloping walls, flat domes and plain exterior, nevertheless the Western or prayer niche of the tomb of Ghiyathu'd-din Tahamtan shows a marked Hindu influence which was to develop further in Firoz's tomb and in Afzal Khan's mosque, and entirely replace the Tughluq tradition in the course of time<sup>42</sup>.

In a word, the twenty two years' period of flux between the death of Muhammad I and the accession of Firoz are really a period of struggle between the cultures emerging into an atmosphere of an attempted synthesis of purely Hindu forms, the foreign influence represented by the Afaquis who were mostly Iranians and 'Iraqis, and the northern or Tughluq tradition represented by the "Dakhnis"<sup>43</sup>.

In 1375 A.D Muhammad-I was succeeded by his son (by Malik SaifuddinGhori's daughter), 'Alau'd-din Mujahid. He was then only 19 and reigned for a short period of less than three years, being murdered on 1378. When he ascended the throne, Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi sent his own shirt and turban which he wore on the occasion, thus ensuring the support of the Muslim divines of his day, and when he started on his Vijayanagara campaign he expressly went to his preceptor for

prayers for his victory<sup>44</sup>. It is said that the new king was fully instructed in all the arts of peace and war, and in addition to his excellent command of the Turki and Persian languages, he was also efficient as a soldier being a good swordsman and archer and an adept in riding. He seems to have been a person of extraordinary dimensions and strength which earned him the sobriquet of Balwant, and it is related that he could sometimes consume thirty seers of food in one sitting. Which still Crown Prince he had broken the collar bone of his opponent, Mubarak, the Royal Betel-leaf Bearer, in a wrestling bout<sup>45</sup>. It is mentioned that when he was campaigning against Vijayanagara he heard that a ferocious lion was in the vicinity of the royal camp, and with only seven attendants he proceeded to kill the beast. It is said that he waited till the animal was almost within a stone's throw of his person and when so near, shot him with an arrow which pierced his heart and killed him outright. At this he exclaimed that if his arrow had missed the mark he would have attacked him single-handed with a sword or a dagger<sup>46</sup>.

On his accession to the throne Mujahid kept his maternal grandfather Malik Saifuddin Ghorī as a Prime Minister but made certain other changes in the administration, one of which was that he replaced Musnad-i 'Alī Khan Muhammad by A'zam-i

Humayun as tarafdār of Daulatabad. This change was to have repercussions on the fortunes of the dynasty<sup>47</sup>.

Practically the whole of young Mujahid's short reign was taken up by a war of nerves against Vijayanagara, and this was continued in the reign of his successor Dawud. As has been mentioned above the Rāya of Vijayanagara at the time of Mujahid's accession was Bukka who seems to have reigned on till January or February 1377 and was succeeded by his son Harihara II. It was right in the beginning of the reign that Mujahid wrote to Bukka that as the Raichur Doab had always been the bone of contention between the Deccan and Vijayanagara so it would be better if the Tungabhadra were fixed as the frontier between the two states and the fortress of Bankapur be handed over to him<sup>48</sup>. The Rāya thereupon retorted that Raichur and Mudgal had always been appendages of Vijayanagara territory. And these as well as the elephants which had been taken away by Muhammad Shah should be handed over to him in order that there might be permanent peace between the two kingdoms. Mujahid now put the whole kingdom in charge of Malik Saifuddin Ghorī and immediately started southwards with a large army consisting of levies from Daulatabad, Bidar and Berar along with five hundred elephants, and crossed the Tungabhadra. The policy he seems to have

adopted was an extremely bold one, that of encircling the capital of the southern state from all sides and cutting off its communications, but he himself was entrapped as the lines of his own communications were lengthened to an inordinate degree and, as will be seen later, he was within an ace of being done to death himself<sup>49</sup>.

On reaching Adoni the Sultan ordered Safdar Khan Sistani to lay siege to the citadel, and Amiru'l-Umra Bahadur Khan and A'zam-i-Humayun to proceed to Vijayanagara, while he himself started for Gangawati on the Tungabhadra by slow marches as he had heard that Bukka was encamped there. This seems to have been a ruse, as the Raya, instead of going up north, had put the capital in charge of nobles and elders and had retired to the jungles south of his capital with the intention of offering guerilla resistance to an enemy which he could not hope to subdue on the open field<sup>50</sup>. When Mujahid arrived outside the walls of Vijayanagara he perceived that the city had been strengthened by fortifications on the hills which surrounded it, and finding that the Raya had taken to the jungles south of the city he went as far as Sita Ban Rameshwar which was "600 kroh" from the capital. Mujahid pursued him for nearly six months without any definite engagement whatever. It was only when the Raya had fallen ill that he returned to the capital and on arrival there shut

himself up in a citadel which was situated on the top of a hillock. The king ordered Bahadur Khan to pursue the enemy while he himself was confident enough to go to Sita Ban Rameshwar<sup>51</sup>. It is said that on arriving at the place he repaired a mosque which had been built by 'Alau'd-din Khilji.

Ferishtah relates how there were two roads from Rameshwaram to the capital of Vijayanagara, one of which, though broader than the other, was full of ambushes where the enemy might be hiding. The Sultan therefore chose to return by the narrower, though a safer road. Even here he had evidently to fight his way back as it is related how his army was continuously successful against the enemy<sup>52</sup>. At last he reached the banks of a lake which separated him from the "hill fortress of the Raya". On a hillock there perched a temple sacred to Sri Ranga, and this temple was looted. The battle was now joined between the two forces. While the passages at arms were going on most fiercely the youthful Sultan threw away his royal umbrella and with just one soldier, Mahmud Afghan, crossed the lake on his black steed the Sher-Rag or 'Lion-veined'. He was, however, recognized by a soldier belonging to the Vijayanagara army who immediately attacked the royal person, but the king killed him with one stroke of his sword<sup>53</sup>.

In the battle itself A'zam-I Humayun commanded on the left and Bahadur Khan was on the right while Muqarrab Khan son of Safdar Khan Sistani was in charge of the artillery. Muqarrab Khan was ordered to take gun carriages to the front line and began to bombard the enemy. This was effectively done and the enemy was within an ace of being routed when the Raya appeared with a large army of eight thousand cavalry and six lakh of infantry which turned the scales. No quarters were shown on both sides and there was a general massacre in which Muqarrab Khan was also killed<sup>54</sup>. The Sultan's cousin, Dawud Khan, who had been left behind to guard the entrance to the road, hurried the fray himself with seven thousand infantry. He fought in great style and though, it is related, he had three of his horses killed and he was himself forced to the ground, he did not leave his grip on the royal ensign which he had been holding. The king was very much upset on seeing Dawud as he thought that if the head of the roadway was to go in possession of the enemy not one of his soldiers would be allowed to escape. As he now heard that the gateway had been captured by the enemy, he himself hurried to the place made the enemy fly and did not leave till the last of his soldiers had left<sup>55</sup>.

Mujahid now knew that it was difficult to conquer Vijayanagara, and he, therefore, feigned a retreat towards Adoni

which had been beleaguered by his army for many months. The Sultan's army was hard pressed and in spite of written agreement between the two sides, when Chenappa Odeyar arrived with reinforcements, the garrison became defiant and actually cut off and fired the head of one of the Sultan's deputies towards the royal tent. There was now no hope of Bahmani reinforcements and to add to the difficulties there was much loss of life in the royal army owing to pestilence and famine<sup>56</sup>.

There seems to have been an engagement before Mujahid's final retreat, and it is argued from an undated inscription in the temple at Bolur, that the Vijayanagaris imprisoned two Muslim officers, Malik Saifu'din Ghorî himself and Prince Fath Khan, and that the Deccan army must have been defeated and forced to fall back to-wards the frontier<sup>57</sup>. We are aware that Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorî did take additional forces to Adoni on hearing of the straits to which the royal army had been put, and Mujahid did return immediately afterwards, so it is possible that this reading of the inscription may be correct. However that may be, it was not long before Malik Saifuddin Ghorî was with Mujahid, and he told the king plainly that as Adoni was situated on an elevated plain strategy demanded that the forts in the Tungabhadra-Krishna Doab from Goa to Belgaum right up to Bankapur should first be reduced before an attempt is made on

Adoni itself. Mujahid thereupon retraced his steps and crossed the Tungabhadra on his way home<sup>58</sup>. When he arrived at Mudgal he set out for shikar with barely four hundred boon companions including Dawud Khan, Musnad-i 'Ali Khan Muhammad, Safdar Khan Sistani and A'zam-i Humayun. A'zam-i Humayun and Safdar Khan, who were always loyal and faithful to the royal person, were ordered to go to their charges, i.e., Berar and Daulatabad respectively, while Mujahid himself crossed the Krishna on a fishing expedition, The stage was now set for the worst, and Mas'ud Khan, son of Mubarak the Betel-leaf Bearer, whose collar bone the king had broken while still a prince, and Dawud Khan who had been scolded for leaving his post, conspired against the king and stabbed him to death while asleep in his tent. Strong as he was, Mujahid, with his bowels all out, rushed to the murderer but was overpowered and decapitated<sup>59</sup>.

Immediately on Mujahid's murder Dawud was proclaimed king of the Deccan and all those present paid homage to him. There was, however, great turmoil in the kingdom, and Safdar Khan Sistani and A'zam-i Humayun who had heard of the king's murder at Bijapur, did not proceed to the royal camp to pay the usual homage to the new king but continued their way to the north. Harihara-II of Vijayanagara pursued the retreating



Bahmani army, and crossing the Tungabhadra laid siege to Raichur<sup>60</sup>. The capital itself was full of rumour and conflict. There were apparently two factions at work there, one in favour of Dawud and the other led by a stalwart woman, Mujahid's sister Ruh Parwar Dgha, which wanted to place Bahman Shah's youngest son Muhammad on the throne. Mujahid's father-in-law, the old Malik SaifuddinGhori, could not favour the regicide regime, but his patriotism got the better of him, and out of regard for the unity and safety of the land he actually paid homage to the usurper. In spite of this, however, Ruh Parwar Agha managed to strengthen her hold on the court circles by her position, by the feeling of remorse which everyone had towards her and by the free gifts of money which she made for the repose of the soul of her dead brother<sup>61</sup>.

Anyhow it was not long after Dawud's accession that an opportunity was offered to avenge Mujahid's death. It is related that Ruh Parwar hired the services of a royal slave named Bakah, who had received his promotion at the hands of the late king, to do the deed. So, when Dawud was attending Friday prayers on 22.1.780/21.5.1378 in the Great Mosque in Gulbarga fort he was stabbed by Bakah, while in the act of prostration before God. Bakah was himself immediately sat upon and beheaded by Musnad-i 'Ali Khan Muhammad who was present at

the mosque himself<sup>62</sup>. Dawud was taken to the palace in a precarious condition followed by free fight between the rival factions within the precincts of the mosque itself. Ruh Parwar's party, however, got the upper hand, and it was only after Dawud had received news of the defeat of his own partisans that he gave up the ghost and breathed his last<sup>63</sup>.

Ruh Parwar Agha had achieved what she wanted and had avenged her brother's death, Now the question arose as to who should succeed him. Dawud had a son named Sanjar who was then nine years old, and Khan Muhammad wanted to place him on the Turquoise Throne but he found the gates of the palace locked and bolted against him by Ruh Parwar who declared that a usurper's son had no right whatsoever to succeed his father<sup>64</sup>. Khan Muhammad hurried to Malik Saifuddin Ghorī's residence where he had been staying as a recluse since Mujahid's death, as he thought that, being popular with everyone, "Hindu and Muslim, male and female, "he might be able to give the right lead, but Malik Saifuddin Ghorī said that Sanjar was in the palace itself and it was impossible for him to do anything in the matter. In the meantime Ruh Parwar had Sanjar blinded and put Bahman Shah's grandson. Dawud's brother, Muhammad, on the throne<sup>65</sup>.

Muhammad II's fairly long reign of nineteen years was one of the most peaceful in the whole Bahmani history. He was essentially a man of culture and the attainments of his reign in that line have already been dealt with. His first act was to imprison Khan Muhammad, who had been a party to Mujahid's murder, at Sagar where he soon ended his days. On his accession to the throne he re-appointed Malik Saifu'd-din Ghoris as Prime Minister and made it a point always to seek his opinion in time of need. As a peace-loving monarch he found means to end the hostilities which had been going on with Vijayanagara ever since Muhammad I's reign<sup>66</sup>. Although it is related in an inscription that Harihara II expelled the Muslims from Goa, it is possible that the Bahmani arms again reached Adoni where they are said to have been repulsed in 1380 by Chenappa, nephew of Harihara II. It is further mentioned that in 1384 Harihara's army went to Tilangana but was repulsed at Kottakonda north-west of Warangal, the day ending in the death of Saluva Rama, a general in the Vijayanagara army<sup>67</sup>. Again it is mentioned that in a battle fought between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagara forces a Vijayanagara general Baichappa distinguished himself against the Bahmanis and captured Rangini in 1395. All this is rather obscure and there seem to be no more than desultory skirmishes. In the meantime Harihara laid siege to Raichur itself

but eventually he had to raise it and to open pourparlers resulting in his agreeing to pay tribute to the Sultan<sup>68</sup>.

The king's reign was marred by an insurrection at Sagar towards the end of his reign. He had appointed Bahau'd-din son of Ramazan Daulatabadi to the Thanadari of Sagar. The Thanadar's two sons, Muhammad and Khwaja, however, were involved in a case of embezzlement, and when they were arraigned for the offence they rose in insurrection and forced their father to join hands with them<sup>69</sup>. The Sultan appointed a Turkish manumitted slave named Yusuf Azhdar against the two but he was overpowered in a number of engagements, and it was not by force of arms but through treachery on the part of Bahau'd-din's men, who put him to death, that the fort of Sagar was finally taken<sup>70</sup>.

Muhammad solved the question of succession in an able manner, and had it not been for unforeseen circumstances which followed his death, there would have been no question of any further ill-feeling among the members of the royal House. For a long time Muhammad had had no male issue and it was the two surviving sons of his uncle Ahmad, the third son of Bahman Shah, Firoz Khan and Ahmad Khan, whom he had virtually adopted. He saw that they received the best possible instruction in literature as well as polo and archery and all that

made one fit for a high position, and appointed the celebrated Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju to be their tutor. Muhammad used to call the elder, Firoz, his heir and successor and sometimes even made him sit on the Turquoise Throne by his side. He betrothed the two brothers to his own two daughters<sup>71</sup>.

But things changed with the birth of Ghiyathu'd-din, and his natural affection went in favour of his own son so that when on his death-bed he expressed the wish that Ghiyathu'd-din should succeed him and that his sons-in-law Firoz and Ahmad should pay homage to him<sup>72</sup>.

Muhammad died of typhoid fever on 1397 A.D, the next day died the grand old man of the Deccan Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorī who had lived through five reigns i.e., 1. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah 2. Muhammad Shah-I, 3. Mujahid, 4. Dawud-I and 5. Muhammad-II and who was the prime minister of the Bahmani state in the time of the storm and stress of four rulers.

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## CHAPTER – IV

### CONTRIBUTIONS OF KHWAJAH BANDANAWAZ

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#### **Early Life and Carrier:**

Born on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Rajab 721/30<sup>th</sup> July 1321 A.D<sup>1</sup> in Delhi, Gesudaraz came from a Sayed family of Khurasan<sup>2</sup>. His ancestors were popularly known there as the “Sayeds with long-locks” (*Sadat-i-diraz Gesu*) from which he got his surname of Gesudaraz<sup>3</sup>. His name was Sayed Muhammad Al-Husaini<sup>4</sup>, and he was the son of Sayed Yusuf Al-Husaini (popularly known as Raju Qattal) a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya.

At the age of seven, in the year 1327 A.D Gesudaraz along with his parents left for Daulatabad (Deccan), when Muhammad bin Tughlaq “embarked upon the Deccan experiment” by changing the capital from Delhi<sup>5</sup>. They reached the new capital on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Muharram 21<sup>st</sup> November 1328 A.D. Not long after, when Gesudaraz was ten years old, his father, Sayed Yusuf died in 1330 A.D and was buried in Daulatabad<sup>6</sup>. Five years later, however, in the beginning of 1335 A.D along with his mother and brother, Gesudaraz returned to Delhi<sup>7</sup> where they finally settled down, at least for the next 64 years approximately.

It is reported that while he was still a young boy a strong desire had developed in Gesudaraz to join the circle of Shaikh

Nizamuddin Auliya' about whom he had heard a lot from his father<sup>8</sup>. Unfortunately, the Shaikh was already dead (in 1325 A.D), even before their immigration to Daulatabad. Nevertheless, when Gesudaraz reached Delhi, Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud (popularly known as Chiragh-i Delhi) was acting as the spiritual vicegerent of Shaikh Nizamuddin. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of the Rajab 1<sup>st</sup> March 1336 A.D, Gesudaraz and his brother<sup>9</sup> Chandan Husaini joined the circle of the disciples of Shaikh Nasiruddin<sup>10</sup>.

Gesudaraz then served his preceptor with such unswerving devotion that Shaikh Nasiruddin is reported to have said, "after seventy years of age, I am re-reminded of past experiences by a small child (*Kudaki*)"<sup>11</sup>. It is an unprecedented privilege for a disciple to be thus respected by his spiritual preceptor. The Shaikh is said to have paid a visit once to Gesudaraz, and offered him a few coins as *nadhr*. Samani relates that since then Gesudaraz gained immense popularity. He further adds that Gesudaraz had become known among the Sufis as having attained the highest stage of a Shaikh in his youth (*jawani*)<sup>12</sup>. In the year 1356 A.D, at the age of 36, Gesudaraz was granted by Shaikh Nasiruddin permission to make his own disciples (*khilafah*)<sup>13</sup>. In the same year the Shaikh fell seriously ill. When requested by his disciples to nominate one of them as his successor, Shaikh Nasiruddin is reported to have appointed

Gesudaraz to take his place after his death<sup>14</sup>. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan 14<sup>th</sup> September 1356 A.D, Shaikh Nasiruddin expired, and Samani reports that three days later Gesudaraz took charge of the *khanqah* as the vicegerent of Shaikh Nasiruddin<sup>15</sup>. Thereafter, very little is known of the life of Gesudaraz in Delhi, where he worked for the next 44 years. Samani writes that he married at the age of 40, and had two sons and three daughters<sup>16</sup>. Gesudaraz became extremely popular and all kinds of people gathered around him<sup>17</sup>.

Having predicted the fate of Delhi (Timur invaded Delhi and was the cause of great devastation) three years prior to his departure, Gesudaraz, at the age of 80, left Delhi with his family and disciples for Dawlatabad on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Rabi' al-Awwal 11<sup>th</sup> November 1398 A.D<sup>18</sup>. Via Bahadurpur, Gwalior, Bhandar, Chanderi, Baroda, and Khambayat, being given a warm welcome at each place, Gesudaraz eventually reached Daulatabad where he paid homage at the shrine of his father. On hearing of the arrival of Gesudaraz in the Deccan, Sultan Firuz Shah, the Bahmani King, invited him to Ahsanabad (Gulbarga) which was then the Bahmani capital<sup>19</sup>.

Gesudaraz accepted the invitation and moved to Gulbarga where he arrived in 803/1400 A.D<sup>20</sup>. Samani writes that the Sultan came out of Gulbarga and offered a warm welcome to

Gesudaraz, and requested him to stay on in his capital<sup>21</sup>. It is reported that the Sultan had great respect for the Shaikh<sup>22</sup>, but later on withdrew his favours<sup>23</sup>. Then, after a period of 22 years, during which time Gesudaraz was mainly engaged in preaching and compiling works, he died at the age of 105 lunar years on the 16<sup>th</sup> of Dhu al-Qa'dah 1<sup>st</sup> November 1422 A.D<sup>24</sup>.

### **Spiritual Training:**

Gesudaraz had a natural inclination towards Sufism. Since his youth he had developed a taste for a Sufi way of life. It is reported that children used to gather around him when he was eight years old in Daulatabad, and they used to respect him and treat him as a Sufi Shaikh. It is said that the children used to fetch water for Gesudaraz to perform ablution. Gesudaraz, in turn, would treat them as a Shaikh treats his disciples<sup>25</sup>. Samani adds that Gesudaraz was religiously minded since his boyhood and had performed his prayers regularly ever since<sup>26</sup>.

Gesudaraz received his spiritual training from his preceptor Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud. The Shaikh is reported to have trained him gradually in the religious practices, with emphasis on the performance of perform all the morning prayers with the same ablution which he performed at dawn. Along with the number of prayers, Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud asked

Gesudaraz to increase the days of fasting. Eventually, Gesudaraz himself says that he became habituated to fasting the whole year round<sup>27</sup>. At the same time, he was studying the relevant works of *Shari'ah*. Unable to concentrate fully on the ascetic practices at home, writes Samani, Gesudaraz rented a room where he lived for ten years<sup>28</sup>. During this period he completed his studies and Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud trained him in the spiritual field. Samani has it that Gesudaraz achieved high mystical stages of revelations (*mukash-afat*) and manifestations (*tajalliyat*) about which he always kept his preceptor informed. Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud was very happy about the progress made by Gesudaraz<sup>29</sup>.

At the age of 30, however, Gesudaraz is reported to have spent most of his time in jungles, where he accomplished successfully all the spiritual stages<sup>30</sup>. Thus, Gesudaraz was spiritually and psychologically prepared for the successor-ship (*khilafat*) which he received in 1356 A.D from Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud. Samani says that this auspicious occasion took place when Gesudaraz reported to Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud a vision which he had seen during his illness. In that vision, some persons made him wear the following seven robes (*jamah*) one after another; (a) the robe of Saint-ship (*walayat*), (b) the robe of Prophet-hood (*nubuwwat*), (c) the robe of apostleship (*risalat*), (d)

the robe of unity (*ittihad*), (e) the robe of lordship (*rububiyat*), (f) the robe of divinity (*uluhiyat*), (g) the robe of he-ness (*huwiyat*)<sup>31</sup>. This vision is significant for the robes presumably symbolize different stages, and it also reveals the psychological state of Gesudaraz. Samani implies that he was now a full-fledged Shaikh capable of having his own circle of disciples. This vision also gives us an indication of the importance of the state of “he-ness”<sup>32</sup>.

Moreover, Gesudaraz claims to have met the spirits (*arwah*) of the Prophet Muhammad, ‘Ali-i Murtada, and of eminent Sufis like Abu Yazid Al-Bastami, Al-Junayd Al-Baghdadi, Ahmad Al-Ghazali, and ‘Ayn Al-Qudah al-Hamadhani<sup>33</sup>.

### **Khwajah Bandanawaz as Ulema:**

Gesudaraz was a Sunni Muslim and followed the Hanafi School of jurisprudence<sup>34</sup>. He is reported to have said that very few persons are found to be jurists, Sayeds, and Sunnis together, which qualifications are all found in him<sup>35</sup>. Gesudaraz was a profound scholar and an author of innumerable works. He was also well-versed in the Holy Qur’an, tradition, jurisprudence, theology, and Sufism. In his monastery, Gesudaraz is reported to have conducted lessons in Arabic grammar (*Sarf-wa-nahu*), exegesis (*tafsir*), tradition (*hadith*), theology (*kalam*), and

jurisprudence (*fiqh*), besides Sufism<sup>36</sup>. It is difficult to say how deep his knowledge of philosophy was, but it is clear from his works that he was acquainted with the technical terms of philosophy and logic. He was critical towards philosophical tendencies, as was the case with the majority of Sufis, and it is stated that he wanted to write a critique of Ibn Sina's (Avicenna) *Isharat-wa-Tanbihat*<sup>37</sup>.

Gesudaraz knew several languages which included Arabic, Persian, Hindawi, Deccani (which later developed into Urdu) and Sanskrit. He says that he had read "the Sanskrit book" and knew Hindu mythology<sup>38</sup>. The following is a list of works concerning the external sciences which are reported by the biographers<sup>39</sup>, as having been studied by Gesudaraz:

- a) *Tafsir al-Kashshaf* of Mahmud al-Zamakhshari (d. 539/1144) on the Holy Qur'an;
- b) *Mashariq al-Anwar* of Radi al-Din al-Saghani (d. 650/1252) on the prophetic traditions (*hadith*);
- c) *Al-Hidayah* of Burhan al-Din al-Marghinani (d. 593/1197) on jurisprudence;
- d) *Kanz al-Wusul ila Ma'rifat al-Usul* Known as *Usul al-Bazdawi* of 'ali bin Muhammad al-Bazdawi (d. 482/1089) on jurisprudence;



- e) *Mukhtasar al-Quduri* of Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Quduri (d. 428/1036) on jurisprudence;
- f) *Miftah al-'Ulum* of Siraj al-Din al-Sakkaki (d. 626/1229) on philology<sup>40</sup>;
- g) *Kitab al-Misbah fi-al-Nahw* of Abu al-Fath Nasir al-Mutarrizi (d. 610/1213) on Philology<sup>41</sup>;
- h) *Al-Kafiyah of Ibn Hajib* (d. 647/1249) a poem on Arabic syntax;
- i) *Al-Risalah al-Shamsiyah fi al-Qawa'id al-Mantiqiyah* of Najm Al-Din al-Qazwini al-Katibi (d. 675/12769 or 693/1294) on logic<sup>42</sup>.

The above list may be incomplete in view of the innumerable works popular in medieval India<sup>43</sup>.

As regards the Sufi literature, we might point out that almost all the major contributions to this field were available in India, and it may not be far-fetched to presume that Gesudaraz had studied most of them. Besides, we will presently be discussing the possible Sufi sources of inspiration to Gesudaraz.

### **Relations with Delhi Sultans:**

When at the age of seven in the year 1327 A.D Gesudaraz along with his parents left to Daulatabad when Sultan

Muhammad bin Tughlaq ordered to change the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad and the family reached the new capital in 1328 A.D. Five years later, however in the beginning of 1330 A.D along with his mother and brother Gesudaraz returned to Delhi where they finally settled down at least for the next 64 years approximately he do not have any relations with the Sultans of Delhi he served his 64 years in the spiritual teaching to his disciples at the *khanqua*.

Having predicted the fate of Delhi *i.e* the Timur invasion on Delhi, and Delhi will be filled with knee deep blood of the people, he called the people of Delhi to migrate from it to save their lives and myself is also migrating to Deccan, who so ever wants to follow me can join me . This was the prediction of Gesudaraz to the people of Delhi three years prior to his departure.

Gesudaraz at the age of 80 years left Delhi with his family and disciples carrying the venerated palanquin of his spiritual master.

### **Relations with Deccan Sultans:**

The arrival of the Saint Hazrat Sayed Muhammad Hussaini Gesudaraz at Gulbarga, which fact had a great cultural impact on the people of the Deccan with very important consequences, the saint himself was born at Delhi on 1321 A.D and was more

than ninety when he arrived at Gulbarga from there with a host of disciples in 1416 A.D, settling down in the beautiful Khanqua lying in the immediate vicinity of the great mosque of Gulbarga fort. Firoz Shah Bahmani was away at the time but when he returned he took care to come with his nobles and high officials and pay respects to the saint who had already made a mark in learned circles and who exercised a great influence over the minds of the people and soon had a circle of disciples at Gulbarga. The Sultan even gave a number of villages to the Saint for the support of himself and his entourage<sup>44</sup>.

The Khwaja Muhammad Hussaini Gesudaraz Bandanawaz was highly respected by the ruling dynasty of the Bahmanis. Ahmed Shah Wali was his professed disciple. Descendents of this divine have played leading roles in the political and religious activities during this period. Many of them were married in the royal families and became councilors of the sovereigns. As torch bearers of the light of religion they formed a link between the religious minded masses who had implicit faith in them, and the sovereigns, whose confidence and trust they enjoyed. Khwaja Bandanawaz was not merely a divine or a Sufi, he was also a scholar and a writer of great repute. Usually his wide spread popularity as a Sufi Saint has eclipsed his merits and excellences as a poet. But nothing can be farther from truth than

this popular misconception. Even Col. Haig, the reputed historian of the Bahmanis, is not free from this prejudice. His unwarranted remark that Khwaja Bandanawaz was an 'ignorant' and 'unlettered' saint cannot be justified even on the ground of its being a reaction of the over-critical and rational mind of an occidental historian. It merely reveals his ignorance of facts. The Khwaja was a leading exponent of the doctrines of popular mysticism through parables. He was a great missionary of Islam, making a serious effort for coordinating theology and mysticism. With the immediate objective of giving a lucid exposition of his system of mysticism, the Khwaja Bandanawaz wrote a number of treatise and pamphlets. His pamphlets on religion and Sufism alone number over thirty. He is the author of a number of comprehensive works on Theology, Commentary and Philosophy. He is a poet with a *Diwan* of lyrics to his credit, and his 'Discourses' and 'Dialogues' have been compiled in the form of a diary<sup>45</sup>.

### **Teachings and Sufi sources of inspiration of Bandanawaz:**

Shall be very brief here because, will mention and refer to the possible sources of inspiration to Gesudaraz in the notes to on his thought. Mention may be made here of Al-Junaïd of Baghdad who seems to have been the model Sufi for Gesudaraz,

as he was for many other eminent Sufis. Junaid is referred to in a number of places in his works, especially when Gesudaraz wants to substantiate his own arguments<sup>46</sup>. At times, Junaid is interpreted in a way that would support his own opinion, because on the one hand, Gesudaraz does not want to disagree with him, while, on the other hand, he wants to adhere to his own argument. Besides Junaid, Gesudaraz refers to many other Sufis, including Najm al-Din al-Kubra<sup>47</sup>, but it is difficult to say which work of his was available. Among others, we also find references to Jalal al-Din Rumi, 'Aziz al-Din al-Nasafi<sup>48</sup>, Farid al-Din-i 'Attar, Sana'i and others.

The major sources used are mainly the classical works on which Gesudaraz himself has compiled commentaries<sup>49</sup>. To mention a few, works like *Quwwat al-Qulub* of Abu Talib al-Makki, *al-Ta'arruf li Madhhab ahl al-Tasawwuf* of Adu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, *al-Risalah* of Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri, *Kashf al-Mahjub* of al-Hujwiri<sup>50</sup>, *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din* of Muhammad al-Ghazali, *Sawanih fi al-'Ishq*<sup>51</sup> of Ahmad al-Ghazali, *Tamhidat* of 'Ayn al-Qudah al-Hamadhani, *Adab al-Muridin* of Diya' al-Din Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* of Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi are referred to. It may be noted that Gesudaraz does not agree with them always. He criticizes some of them, especially when he feels that they are possibly crossing

the boundaries of orthodox Islam and, at times, he extracts more meanings than probably was intended<sup>52</sup>. Besides, he writes that works such as *Tamhidat* of ‘Ayn al-Qudah, *Fusus al-Hikam* and other treatises of Ibn ‘Arabi must not be studied by novices, rather they should prefer basic books like *Kashf al-Mahjub* of al-Hujwiri, *Minhaj al-‘Adibin* and *Ihya’* of Muhammad al- Ghazali<sup>53</sup>.

Another major source is the *Fusus al-Hikam* of Ibn ‘Arabi<sup>54</sup>. Although Gesudaraz had a critical attitude towards Ibn ‘Arabi, he seems to be immensely influenced by his doctrines. His influence is discerned mainly in the ontological philosophy of Gesudaraz, which is based on the idea of theophany (*tajalli*) as is the whole system of the Spanish Arab. Nevertheless, Gesudaraz states;

*“If he (Ibn ‘Arabi) were alive during my age, I would have made him ‘conscious’ of ‘beyond the beyond’, by taking him up (into the spiritual realm), and would have revived his belief (iman) and converted him into a Muslim”*<sup>55</sup>.

Among the classical commentators on the *Fusus al-Hikam*, we find references to ‘Abd al-Razzaq al-Kashani, Dawud b. Mahmud al-Qaysari, Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi, and Fakhr al-Din-i ‘Iraqi<sup>56</sup>.

I would like to discuss here briefly the possible influence of the famous Kubrawi Sufi of Iran, ‘Ala’ al-Dawlah al- Simnani

who was the disciple of Nur al-Din al-Isfara'ini. Dr. Sayed Athar Abbas Rizvi writes that Gesudaraz may have been influenced by Simnani through his works like *al-'Urwah li-ahl al-Khalwah wa-al-Jalwah* and *Chihil Majlis*, and through his disciples who had visited Gesudaraz at Gulbarga<sup>57</sup>. As we have pointed out below<sup>58</sup>, Simnani lived about 85 years prior to Gesudaraz. Both are critical towards Ibn 'Arabi, and have tried to refute the same idea. Besides, doctrinally, they have a striking similarity, but at the same time, are themselves under the influence of Ibn 'Arabi. The Sufism of Simnani falls under that special type of Islamic mysticism which is often labeled as "unity of witnessing" (*wahdat al-shuhud*)<sup>59</sup>, as opposed to "unity of being" (*wahdat al-wujud*) of Ibn 'Arabi, and we think that Gesudaraz is not any different from Simnani.

Naturally, the first question which comes to mind is, was Gesudaraz influenced by Simnani? The possible means of influence could have been two: through the disciples. The first means is most improbable, since there is no evidence to show that any of Simnani's works had reached India during the time of Gesudaraz. Moreover, nowhere does Gesudaraz himself refer to Simnani or to his works. Gesudaraz has a habit of citing or referring to works or authors, irrespective of whether he agrees with them or not. It is felt that he would have mentioned

Simnani if any of his works were studied by him. This leaves us with the alternative means of influence, that is, through Simnani's disciples. We know that Ashraf Jahangir-i Simnani (d. after 825/1422), who initially took spiritual training from 'Ala' al-Dawlah al-Simnani, had migrated to India where he died<sup>60</sup>. Ashraf Jahangir had visited the monastery of Gesudaraz at Gulbarga two times<sup>61</sup>. Elsewhere in the disciples of Ashraf Jahangir had also paid a visit to Gulbarga, but it is most probable that this visit took place after the death of the Chishti Sufi<sup>62</sup>. As far as the two visits of Ashraf Jahangir are concerned, the Shaikh himself implies in one of his letters that in his second visit Gesudaraz had already passed away<sup>63</sup>. In short, the only occasion on which Ashraf Jahangir could have influenced Gesudaraz was in his first visit to Gulbarga, which seems to us a very remote possibility for the following reasons:

- a. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* reports that Ashraf Jahangir himself gained spiritual knowledge from Gesudaraz, more than he could have achieved from any other Shaikh<sup>64</sup>;
- b. From the letter of Ashraf Jahangir it is apparent that he was in favour of Ibn 'Arabi and he seems to have argued with Gesudaraz in support of his doctrines<sup>65</sup>. This implies that he was not a supporter of Simnani's philosophy.



c. It may be said that Gesudaraz tried to refute Ibn 'Arabi even in Delhi, before he met Ashraf Jahangir, and propounded the same doctrines both in Delhi and in Gulbarga. We do not find in him any major change doctrinally, throughout his whole career<sup>66</sup>.

We, therefore, feel that Rizvi's assumption of a possible influence of Simnani on Gesudaraz is rather far-fetched. On the contrary, we think that the Sufism of both Simnani and Gesudaraz was a natural consequence in respect of their times. That is to say, that the concept of "unity of being" (*wahdat al-wujud*) of Ibn 'Arabi had such a sweeping influence on the religious thought of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries that it produced diverse effects. In a way, this doctrine went against the Islamic concept of "unity" (*towhid*) of God. This aroused the Muslim theologians and jurists to criticize Ibn 'Arabi severely. But the issue raised by a Sufi could only be tackled by those who understood its very nature. In other words, only a Sufi could solve the problems created by another Sufi. This would also simplify the other aspect of the problem, in case of no apparent influence, that is the striking similarities in Simnani and Gesudaraz. It signifies similar psychological experiences of both these Sufis<sup>67</sup>, one in Iran and the other in India.

### **Writings of Bandanawaz:**

Waizi states that Gesudaraz used to compare himself with Muhammad al-Ghazali in his capacity as an erudite scholar who used to dictate four or five works at a time<sup>68</sup>. Nevertheless, Gesudaraz himself writes, “everyone who traverses on the path to God is bestowed with a particular thing; God has bestowed me with the gift of explaining His secrets”<sup>69</sup>. It is not certain, however, the number of works actually written by him. According to a tradition, he is supposed to have compiled 105 works<sup>70</sup>. The *Tabsirat al-Khawariqat* mentions the number as 125<sup>71</sup>. *Siyar-i Muhammadi* lists about 36 works<sup>72</sup>, while *Tarikh-i-Habibi* quotes 47 treatises which include four collections of Gesudaraz’ discourses (*malfuzat*)<sup>73</sup>. It can be said, though, that Gesudaraz may have compiled more than the works listed by his biographers because a number of treatises (besides those listed in his biographies) attributed to him, are found in various libraries of India. The *Tarikh-i-Habibi* divided his works chronologically into two periods, those compiled in Delhi between 1335 and 1398 A.D) which include those written on his way to Gulbarga (between 1398 and 1400 A.D), and those written in Gulbarga (1400-1422 A.D). However, divide them according to the relevant subjects. The following is a list of the important works of Gesudaraz.

❖ **Exegesis:**

1. *Hawashi-i Kashshaf*: this was a marginal commentary of the commentary *Kashshaf* of Zamakhshari. It was compiled in Delhi (lost work). It is reported that Gesudaraz wrote another commentary on the Holy Qur'an with an approach similar to that of *Kashshaf*, but it was not completed as he had to leave Delhi<sup>74</sup>. It was, presumably, written sometime between 1397, and 1398 A.D in which year he left Delhi.
2. *Tafsir-i Multaqat*: this commentary on the Holy Qur'an was written in Arabic during Gesudaraz' stay in Delhi (1335-1398 A.D). Samani writes that it was compiled from the Sufi point of view<sup>75</sup>. It is reported that this commentary was one of the works which Gesudaraz taught to his disciples<sup>76</sup>. It was also one of his three works that Gesudaraz was himself jealous (*ghayrat*) of<sup>77</sup>. The first part of this commentary up to the end of Surah 18 is preserved in the Nasiriyah, Lucknow<sup>78</sup>. A copy of the *Tafsir* in two volumes (complete commentary) is also preserved in the India Office<sup>79</sup>. M. Salim Qidwa'i, in an article on the Lucknow manuscript, quotes parts of the text and remarks that the commentary has little to say about Sufism: it is rather more useful from the literary point of view<sup>80</sup>.

### ❖ **Tradition:**

*Sharh-i Mashariq al-Anwar*: It is a well-known work on the prophetic tradition compiled by Radi al-Din Hasan al-Saghani. Gesudaraz wrote a commentary on this work of al-Saghani in Delhi. Wa'izi mentions its name as *Isharat al-Mashariq*. When Gesudaraz moved to Gulbarga, he is said to have made a translation of the same *Mashariq* in 1407 A.D. Both these works are lost.

### ❖ **Biography:**

*Siyar al-Nabi*: this biography of the Prophet Muhammad was written in Gulbarga. Wa'izi writes that Gesudaraz dictated this work to one of his disciples, Shaikh Siraj al-Din. The work is referred to by Shaikh Ashraf Jahangir Simnani in one of his letters, where he states that it was one of the last works Gesudaraz was engaged in, when he visited the Khanqah in Gulbarga. This biography is not known to have survived.

### ❖ **Jurisprudence:**

*Sharh al-Fiqh al-Akbar*: *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* is a well-known work of Abu Hanifah al-Kufi. The biographers of Gesudaraz state that he wrote a commentary on this treatise of Abu Hanifah, both in Arabic and Persian, during his stay in Gulbarga. In the

introduction to the Persian commentary, Gesudaraz states that he had started out by compiling it in Arabic, but he received inspiration to commentary incomplete<sup>81</sup>.

❖ **Sufism:**

- a. *Asmar al-Asrar*: this is a very important work because it deals with almost all the aspects of Sufism. Gesudaraz himself seems to have been proud of it. Wa'izi writes that Gesudaraz was always reluctant to teach this work of his to anyone although he did teach it to a select few. Nevertheless, he avoided explaining to anyone those chapters (74 and 75) which dealt with the interpretation of the 14 mystical letters (*muqatta'at*) of the Holy Qur'an. *Asmar al-Asrar* was the second work that Gesudaraz was jealous of. Gesudaraz divided the work into 114 Chapters according to the number of Surahs in Holy Qur'an. Each chapter deals with a mystical interpretation of either a Qur'anic verse or a prophetic tradition, or a controversial topic. On the whole, however, it is a mine of information regarding his own thought, but at the same time extremely difficult to understand. Another significant aspect of the *Asmar* is that it shows the importance of mystical visions in the thought of Gesudaraz, who devoted a number of chapters to his visions. It, therefore,

requires a very careful reading of the text. Gesudaraz is consistent throughout the work, but at times incomprehensible and confusing, especially when he intends to be so. It may be said that *Asmar* presupposes knowledge of Ibn 'Arabi's doctrines, and, no doubt, Gesudaraz himself compiled the work with Ibn 'Arabi in mind. We find innumerable places where he openly criticizes the Shaikh al-Akbar and his ideas, while at many other instances he just alludes to some.

Wa'izi states that the *Asmar* was written in Gulbarga, but the date of its compilation is not stated. On the basis of internal evidence, however, we may be able to determine the year of its compilation. In chapter 80 of the *Asmar*, Gesudaraz states that he is already 90 years old. Having been born on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Rajab 30<sup>th</sup> July 1321 A.D, it would add up to the 4<sup>th</sup> of Rajab 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1408 A.D to make Gesudaraz 90 years old. His son S. Akbar Husaini wrote a commentary on some chapters of the *Asmar*, and quotes also from chapter 114, which implies that the whole *Asmar* was completed when he began his commentary. S.A. Husaini died on the 15<sup>th</sup> Jumada Al-Akhir 25<sup>th</sup> October 1409 A.D. This leaves us with 10 months (between 4<sup>th</sup> Rajab and 15<sup>th</sup> Jumada al-Akhir) during which period Gesudaraz must have completed this

work. It would determine also that the commentary of S.A. Husaini was written during the same period<sup>82</sup>.

We will mention here two commentaries on the *Asmar al-Asrar* of Gesudaraz. *Tabsirat al-Istilahat al-Sufiyah* is a work written by his eldest son, S.A. Husayni, whom we have just mentioned above. It was compiled, as Observed, sometime between 1408 and 1409 A.D. S.A. Husaini writes that he compiled the work so as to explain certain technical terms, especially of the *Asmar al-Asrar*, which are extremely difficult to understand. This work contains a commentary on the following chapters of the *Asmar al-Asrar*, numbers 49, 73, 76, 78, 81, and 83. Chapter 9 of the commentary contains interpretations of certain technical terms often used in mystical poetry. In chapter 5, S.A. Husaini discusses at length Gesudaraz' objections to Ibn 'Arabi. The work is very interesting and illuminating especially in regard to certain difficult parts of *Asmar*.

The second commentary is the *Asrar al-Asmar* written in the year 1472 A.D. It is an anonymous work. S. 'Ata' Husain, the editor of *Asmar al-Asrar*, writes that it was probably compiled by one of the disciples of the grandson of Gesudaraz. The title *Asrar al-Asmar Sharh-i Asmar al-Asrar* is mentioned at a number of places in the commentary itself.

The author avoided commenting on the chapters 74 and 75 of the *Asmar al-Asrar* dealing with the mysterious letters of Holy Qur'an. He then begins from the middle of chapter 76 (from *waqt u shud*, *Asmar*, line 4, p. 236). It is evident that the commentator was aware of and, perhaps, studied the *Tabsirat al-Istilahat al-Sufiyah* of S.A. Husaini. His commentary on a couple of chapters is not much different from that of S.A. Husaini. However, the *Asrar al-Asmar* is also an interesting commentary, but at times, it is felt that its author extracted too much meaning from the text of the *Asmar*.

There is a third commentary on a section of *Asmar al-Asrar* by Shah Rafi' al-Din, the son of Shah Wali Allah.

- b. *Hawashi-i Quwwat al-Qulub*: a commentary on the margin of *Quwwat al-Qulub* of Abu Talib al-Makki written in Gulbarga. The *Quwwat al-Qulub* was in the curriculum of the *Khanquah* of Gesudaraz. The commentary is lost.
- c. *Haza'ir al-Quds*: this work, also known as '*Ishq Namah*', is focused on the idea of mystical love. It was compiled on his way to the Deccan in Khambhayat (Cambay). As Gesudaraz himself states, he completed this treatise on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *jumada al-Akhir* 31<sup>st</sup> January 1401 A.D. Wa'izi writes that the *Haza'ir al-Quds* was the third work which Gesudaraz was jealous of. He further reports that the Shaikh used to



compare this work of his with *Sawanih fi al-'Ishq* of Ahmad al-Ghazali.

- d. *Khatimah*: Gesudaraz compiled this work in Gulbarga in the year 1404 A.D, as a supplement to one of his commentaries on the *Adab al-Muridin* of Diya' al-Din Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi. That is the reason why he calls it the *Khatimah* or *Khatimah-i Adab al-Muridin*.
- e. *Majmu'ah-i Yazdah Rasa'il*: this is a collection of ten treatises of Gesudaraz, edited by S. 'Ata' Husain. It also contains 7 commentaries on one of his treatises, *Burhan al-'Ashiqin*.

The following is the list of the ten treatises:

- 1) *Tafsir-i Surah Fatihah*;
- 2) *Risalah dar Mas'alah-i Ruyat-i Bari Ta'ala wa Karamat-i Awliya'*;
- 3) *Istiqamat al-Shari'at ba-Tariq al-Haqiqat*, written in the year 1389 A.D;
- 4) *Hada'iq al-Uns*, written in Gulbarga;
- 5) *Wujud al-'Ashiqin*; a very interesting short treatise on love;
- 6) *Risalah-i Manzum dar adhkar*;
- 7) *Risalah dar Muraqabah*;
- 8) *Risalah-i Adhkar-I Chishtiyah*;
- 9) *Sharh-i Bayt-i Hadrat-i Amir Khusraw Dihlawi*;
- 10) *Burhan al-'Ashiqin*, it is also known as *Shikar Namah*.

- f. *Sharh-i Awarif al-Ma'arif*: Gesudaraz compiled two commentaries on the 'Awarif al-Ma'arif of Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi. The first one he wrote in Arabic during his stay in Delhi, and called it Ma'arif Sharh-i 'Awarif. The second commentary was written in Persian after he immigrated to Gulbarga. The year of the compilation of the Persian version is given as 1407 A.D.
- g. *Sharh-i Fusus al-Hikam*: this work of Ibn 'Arabi was one of those which Gesudaraz taught to some of his disciples. Wa'izi writes that the commentary was written with a critical approach in Sultanpur (Province of Gujarat) on the way to Gulbarga (between 1398 and 1400 A.D). It is unfortunate that this work is not extant today.
- h. *Sharh-i Risalah-i Qushayriyah*: this commentary is incomplete as it ends with the chapter on *tawakkul* for no obvious reason as also observed by its editor S. 'Ata' Husain. The introduction to the commentary was not written by Gesudaraz but by a disciple of his who was asked to write it. The commentary was written in Gulbarga in the year 1407 A.D. Wa'izi mentions a second commentary on the *Risalah* compiled by Gesudaraz earlier in Delhi but it is known to exist.

- i. *Sharh-i Tamhidat*: this commentary on the *Tamhidat* of ‘Ayn al-Qudah al-Hamadhani is also one of the important works of Gesudaraz. It was written in Delhi. It is a very interesting commentary; the more so because Gesudaraz liked the *Tamhidat* a lot. At times he disagrees with ‘Ayn al-Qudah, but he criticizes him in a peculiar style of his own by making an excuse for any excesses of the author. Sometimes he writes, “our *Qadi* is mad” (*qadi-i ma diwanah ast*). It is also evident that the Persian style of Gesudaraz was influenced by the *Tamhidat*.
- j. *Tarjamah-i Adab al-Muridin*: this is a Persian translation of the *Adab al-Muridin* of Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi, compiled in Gulbarga in the year 1410 A.D. Besides the translation, it also contains some interesting comments by him. It is reported that Gesudaraz wrote three other commentaries on the *Adab al-Muridin* (one in Arabic and two in Persian). The *Tarjamah* was the fourth time he commented on the work<sup>83</sup>.

❖ **Miscellaneous:**

- i. *Anis al-Ushshaq*: it is a collection of the poetry composed by Gesudaraz. The poems were collected by one of his disciples on the request of S. Asghar Husaini, the second son of Gesudaraz.

- ii. *Maktubat*: these letters were collected by Abu al-Fath ‘Ala’ al-Din Qurayshi in the year 1448 A.D. The edition contains 66 letters of Gesudaraz written to his disciples et. al. It also contains letters written by his sons, a disciple of his and another Chishti Sufi.
- iii. *Malfuzat* (Discourses): there is mention of 4 collections of the discourses of Gesudaraz. Two of them were compiled by his eldest son S. Akbar Husaini, the third by a Qadi ‘Ilm al-Din Bahruch, a disciple of Gesudaraz, and the compiler of the fourth collection is not mentioned. One of the two *malfuzat* collected by S.A. Husaini was compiled in Delhi, while the other he collected at Gujarat on the way to Gulbarga. The third collection written by Qadi ‘Ilm al-Din contained the discourses of the Shaikh in Gulbarga. None of the *malfuzat* are known to exist today, except the one compiled on the way to the Deccan by S.A. Husaini under the title *Jawami’ al-Kalim*. The work is very well organized and is chronologically arranged. It begins from the 1<sup>st</sup> of Rajab 27<sup>th</sup> February 1400 A.D and ends on 22<sup>nd</sup> of Rabi’ al-Thani 10<sup>th</sup> December 1400 A.D. S.A. Husaini states that he had the whole work read out to Gesudaraz who corrected it word by word. Gesudaraz is reported to have praised it. The *Jawami’* contains a mine of information on almost all aspects of Islam and is an

important Source on the life of Gesudaraz. Recently this work has been analysed to show its historical value in a series of articles by M. Aslam<sup>84</sup>.

### **Relations with Hindus:**

Hazrat Syed Khwaja Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz, who advocated understanding, tolerance and harmony among various religious groups of the Indian society, the Urs-e-Shareef of 14<sup>th</sup> century Sufi saint Hazrath Khwajah Banda Nawaz Gesudaraz, the epitome of religious tolerance and universal brotherhood who built a permanent bond between the Hindus and Muslims of the Hyderabad Karnataka region through his selfless service.

Tens of thousands of devotees from all over the country and abroad would converge in this historic city to offer obeisance at the famous Dargah Shareef.

Religious ceremonies marking the beginning of the urs would begin with 'Khidmat-i-Farashi and Band 'Sama' (distribution of Tabarruk) at the Dargah Shareef, followed by a special 'namaz'. The All-India Industrial Exhibition will be inaugurated at the Khwajah Bazaar.

Khidmat-e-Farashi and Band Sama at the Dargah Shareef would be followed by an address by Sajjada Nasheen Syed Shah Khusro Hussaini.

Then in the evening, special Namaaz-e-Asr would be held at the Mehboob Gulshan Public Garden. Sajjada Nasheen would lead the traditional special namaz in the public garden in which thousands of devotees would participate before flagging off a 'sandal procession'.

The sandal paste, brought in a procession, would be anointed on the tomb of Khwajah Banda Nawaz, located in the spacious mausoleum built by the then Bahmani king Ahmed Shah Wali Bahamani.

Khwajah Banda Nawaz Gesudaraz played an important role in preaching Islam in the Indian context during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

For 22 years, he lived in Gulbarga, spreading the message of universal brotherhood. His love and compassion for the people drew lakhs of devotees to him from all communities.

He was also a prolific writer and is considered the first prose writer in Urdu. The Sufi saint's writings are revered by scholars throughout the world.

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## CHAPTER – V

### KHWAJAH MAHMUD GAWAN

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#### **Early Life:**

It was in the year 1453 A.D that a merchant, Imaduddin Mahmud Gawan by name, already past the proverbial limit of forty years, sick of this world of jealousy and intrigue, a voluntary exile from the country of his birth and youth, landed at Dabol on the western coast of India in order to seek fortune I trade and commerce at Delhi, the cultural capital of the land<sup>1</sup>. But the will of god was otherwise, and although Mahmud was later honoured with the honorific title of “Malik-ut-Tujjar” ‘the prince of merchants’, it was in other walks of the that he made his mark, becoming perhaps the only minister of the Deccan with a world reputation and the mainstay of the Bahmani Kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

Khwajah Imaduddin Mahmud bin Jalaluddin Muhammad bin Khwajah Kamal Al-Gilani was born at Qawan, or in its more familiar form Gawan in the kingdom of Gilan on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea in 1411 A.D. the Khwajah’s family was one of the most aristocratic of Gilan, his ancestors having held high office and one of them having actually become ruler of Resht with the right of having his name mentioned in Friday

sermons, and his descendents are said to have maintained their autonomy right up to the reign of Shah Tahmasp Safavi when the Kingdom of Gilan was swallowed up by the regenerated Persian empire. The Khwajah says that even in his youth he had “the firing ambition of seeing himself attain progress and high eminence in life”, but although he had been brought up in an atmosphere of political rivalry he was averse to shouldering the burden of minister ship even in the petty state of Gilan<sup>3</sup>.

#### **Relations with Bahmani Sultans:**

It was about 1466 A.D that Muhammad Shah-III, then in his fourteenth year, was married with great pomp, and robes of honour were distributed among the civil and military officers of the kingdom. The sagacious Dowager Queen Makaduma-i-Jahan, who had been the great unifying factor in government since her husband Humayun's death, now thought it was time to retire from active participation in politics, and although the king made it a point to visit his mother every day and seek her advice on matters of policy, it was not as the virtual ruler but simply as a well-wisher of the state that she communicated her opinions to her son<sup>4</sup>. Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk had already been removed, and with the retirement of Makhduma-i-Jahan, the stage was set for the formal investiture of the Maliku't Tujjar Mahmud Gawan as

the Chief Minister. For this purpose ceremonious darbar was held at which His Majesty delivered an address to those gathered together, which is remarkable for the saga city of the youthful king and once again gives some insight into the theory of the Bahmani government<sup>5</sup>. He said;

“It should be known that both religious and worldly affairs require the help of advisory councils, and the laws on which the organization of every state or country is based need great thought and circumspection. Thus it is necessary that care should be taken to acquire the opinion of the wise in matters pertaining to the affairs of government. For God Almighty himself ordered the Apostle of Islam (Peace be upon him and his descendants!) that he should take counsel in worldly affairs<sup>6</sup>. The Apostle laid down that counsel was like a fortress against repentance and a refuge from reproach, and the Caliph ‘Ali has said: The best of ministers is counsel and worst of powers is self-will.’ The purport of all this is that it is best to act upon the advice of a wise minister, for his opinion would be like a mirror of truth and honesty. The philosophers of old have said that kings and successful leaders should not interfere with the policy of state without the advice of wise elders”.

In order that this ideal might be reached, the king, with the consent of the Dowager Queen, made Khwajah Mahmud Gawan

Prime minister, giving him charge of all the provinces of the kingdom as well as authority over matters great and small. He was not only given the title of Khwaja-i-Jahan but was henceforth addressed in official documents as “Lord of the habitats of the Globe, Secretary of the Royal Mansion<sup>7</sup>. Deputy of the Realm” with two thousand Mughal troops as his bodyguard<sup>8</sup>.

The premiership of Mahmud Gawan saw the Bahmani state attain a high unequalled in the whole of its history. Apart from the purely cultural aspects of his term of office, the frontiers of the kingdom were made secure by the effective occupation of the Konkan territory as far south as Goa, and the annexation of Godavari-Krishna Doab in the east, which expeditions were led to the very heart of Orissa and the Coromandel littoral as far as Kanchi<sup>9</sup>. For the first time the frontiers of the Bahmani realm extended from sea to sea and the term of the Khwaja’s office saw the annihilation of the ambitions of Malwe, Orissa and Vijayanagar for some time to come<sup>10</sup>.

### **Achievements of Mahmud Gawan:**

It is remarkable that such a result was achieved in spite of the perennial animosity of the faction opposed to the Khwajah at the capital. This animosity was revived when he was away for nearly three years pacifying the western frontiers of the kingdom,

and his enemies found time not only to try and poison the mind of the youthful king but actually to put stumbling blocks in the Khwajah's path making it most difficult for him to carry the Bahmani flag flying in the far west and south-west<sup>11</sup>. Time and again he writes to those in authority at Muhammad-Bidar bitterly complaining of the lack of troops and was material on the battlefield<sup>12</sup>, and had it not been for his great native energy in spite of his old age, the Bahmani army would have had to relate a sorry tale. In spite of this, when it came to a redistribution of places of honour and responsibility, he did not forget the lessons he had already learnt that it was necessary to take into consideration both the parties which went to form the Bahmani aristocracy, namely the Old comers and the Newcomers, and effect a political equilibrium between them<sup>13</sup>. It was at his instance that Malik Hasan was created Nizam-ul-Mulk and made Sarlashkar of Tilangana, Fathu'l-lah, "the wisest of the subordinates of Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk" was created 'Imad-ul-Mulk and made Sarlashkar of Berar; and Yusuf 'Adil, who was like a son to the Khwajah and was perhaps the ablest of the Turkish nobles, became the Sarlashkar of Daulatabad, Junnai and Chakan with 'Darya Khan and the other Turkish nobles including Qasim Beg, Shah Quii Sultan and other Mughals, as his subordinate<sup>14</sup>.



Not only did Mahmud Gawan try to hold the balance evenly between the Old comers and the Newcomers but he did his best to win over the sympathies of the Hindu population as well. His suggestion to the king that Parketa, chief of Belgaum, should be pardoned for his misdeeds and made an amir of the kingdom<sup>15</sup>, must have paved the way for the conciliation of the Maratha people which bore abundant fruit later during the hegemony of Bijapur over western districts. The tendency to eradicate communalism which had been existing for some time past, was no doubt strengthened by the temporary of the Bahmanis with Vijayanagar with against Kapilesh war and by the help which Muhammad III later gave to Hamvira of Orissa<sup>16</sup>. Another instance of the cordial relations of the Hindus with the Bahmanis will be seen in the part which the chief of Mudhol played during the western campaigns. When Mahmud Gawan was back at Kolhapur in order t. spend the rainy season of 1470, he asked Singh, ruler of Mudhol, to protect the Ghats against the enemy, the Rayas of Sangameshwar and Khelna. It is said that it was mainly due to the cleverness of Karan Singh and his men that the Bahmani army finally overcame them<sup>17</sup>. The great fort of Khelna was a stumbling block to the further progress of the Bahmani forces, as it was too steep for them to scale. Karan Singh now played a trick. He caught hold of some iguanas tied

ropes round their waists and made them ascend the ram-parts in the dead of night. These animals were so secure on the walls that Karan's son Bhim Singh and his Maratha forces scaled the ramparts by means of these ropes and thus helped the Khwajah to make short work of the defenders<sup>18</sup>. The king, on the strong recommendation of Mahmud Gawan who was then the most powerful servant of the state, issued a royal Farman on 7.5.976/22.10.1471 that besides extensive jagirs, Rana Bhim Singh should be given the title of Raja Ghorpare Bahadur, which is proudly held by the scions of Mudhol family even to this day<sup>19</sup>.

It was during this period that a number of forts, such as that of Parenda were built. It was, however, not military edifices which made a mark in the history of Deccan architecture of the period but that noble building, the great College at Bidar, which was to remain a permanent symbol of the public welfare which Mahmud Gawan always had at heart<sup>20</sup>.

### **Military reforms of Mahmud Gawan:**

It was not long after Muhammad Shah had taken over the reins of government in his hands that a conflict again arose between the Deccan and its northern, Malwa. Although there had been no fighting in the northern sector since Rajab 867/April 1463, the tension between the two kingdoms had by

no means abated<sup>21</sup>. It transpires that Mahmud Khalji claimed that Mahur and Ellichpur should be ceded to Malwa, to which Mahmud Gawan replied that the two territories had been part and parcel of the kingdom of the Deccan and had been conquered by Bahmani arms, and the two districts could not be snatched away from Malwa<sup>22</sup>.

It was an open secret that the ambitious ruler of Malwa was making preparations for another invasion of the Deccan. Knowing full well that the promises made by the northern ruler were “as slender as the spider’s web” and forestalling the Malwese action, Muhammad Shah appointed Musnud-i ‘Ali Malik Yusuf Turk, surnamed Nizamu’l-Mulk, commander of the army of Berar, to settle matters once and for all, and also sent Mahmud Gawan with the diverting forces to Fathabad on the borders of Khandesh<sup>23</sup>. In the meantime the old diplomacy of allying the Deccan with Gujarat against Malwa was revived. We have a communication from the Bahmani King to Mahmud Shah of Gujarat in which the latter was informed that a treaty of mutual alliance had been signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two states through the good offices of the Gujarat envoy Khan-i-A’zam Safadar Khan, and the king of Gujarat was requested to send a detachment of troops to the frontiers of Asir in order that “the enemy might end his days soon<sup>24</sup>.

It was in 872/1468 that Nizam-ul-Mulk went and besieged Kherla. The local Hindu Muquaddam or chief was reduced to such straits that he had to call in the help of the Malwese army which was; it is interesting to note, composed both of Afghans and Rajputs. This was of no avail, however, and after sustaining heavy losses and leaving five thousand of his own men dead on the field, Siraju'l-Mulk, the Malwese commander<sup>25</sup>, was taken prisoner along with twenty-three elephants by Nizamu'l-Mulk, and the fortress of Kherla was occupied by Deccan army, while the Deccani Commander allowed the main Malwese army to march out of the fortress unharmed. There was, however, so much enmity between the members of the opposing forces that Nizamu'l-Mulk had to pay for his clemency by his very life<sup>26</sup>.

It is stated that when the Deccan forces had finally succeeded in gaining the fortress, two Rajput defenders of the citadel came to him and begged him to allow them to kiss his feet<sup>27</sup>. Their request was granted, but as they bowed for the supposed obeisance, instead of kissing the humane commander's feet they took him unawares and stabbed him in the heart killing him instantaneously. Nizamu'l Mulk had adopted two young men 'Abdu'l-lah Yaghrash Khan and Fathu'l-lah Wafa Khan, who brought their patron's corpse to the king at Bidar and were honourably received there<sup>28</sup>. They were made

hazaris and granted the titles of 'Adil Khan and Darya Khan respectively.

When Mahmud Khilji heard of the losses sustained in reducing Kherla, he hurried to the battlefield himself in spite of his failing health<sup>29</sup>. On perceiving the Khalji's movements, Mahmud Gawan immediately wheeled round from Fathabad and fearing that his communications might be cut off once again by the Daccanis and their allies, the king of Malwa retraced his steps to his capital<sup>30</sup>.

This was the end of the campaign against Malwa, and the Daccanis had once again succeeded against the Malwese forces<sup>31</sup>. There are some interesting pourparlers revealed by our authorities, and the way they ended in finally cementing the alliance between the two countries shows the magnanimity which had been the mark of Deccani statesmanship ever since the time of Ahmad Shah Wali<sup>32</sup>. The negotiations seem to have begun with communications from the Malwese minister and were duly reported to Mahmud Gawan by Zainu'l-Quzat Qazi Ahmed and Malik Nasir and hinted at the idea of sending a special Malwese envoy to Bidar<sup>33</sup>. Mahmud Gawan replied that when "the other party" was inclined towards peace the Deccan should also be ready, and sent Khan-I A'zam Sadr Khan to Shadiabad-Mandu. The king of Malwa thereupon sent a peace

mission consisting of Sharafu'l-Mulk and Khalafu'l Masha'ikh Shaikh Dawud elMandavi with an autograph letter from himself to the Bahmani Sultan in which he withdrew his former claims for Mahur and Ellichpur and made a proposal to the effect that as it had been agreed upon by Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa and Sultan Ahmad Shah Wali that Berar should remain a part of the Deccan and Kherla should go to Malwa, the pledge thus entered into between the parties should still be regarded as binding<sup>34</sup>. Mahmud Gawan does not seem, however, to have been very sanguine about the intentions of the king of Malwa, as he who had broken his plighted word so often and had "carried on wanton massacres of the Hindus and Muslims," and remembered well that he would have put an end to the Bahmani kingdom itself if help had not been forthcoming from Gujarat in the reign of Nizamu'l-din Ahmad III<sup>35</sup>. The Bahmani minister has some very plain speaking in his letters to the Malwese emissary Khalafu'l Masha'ikh Saikh Dawud. He says that it was not the first time that Khalji envoys had come to Bidar to sue for peace, for this was only a repetition of what had been done in the time of Ahmad III, when also Shaikh Dawud had sent an appeal for "joint action by the two Muslim States<sup>36</sup>." He goes on to say:

On his part the Khalji shivered his opposition and antagonism instead of love and alliance and did not desist from

the wayward path was different from the route laid down by Sultans past and present, and was always turning his ears to the party which delighted in scandal-mongering<sup>37</sup>. The best of kings consider that the only method of bettering the condition of their people is based on external as well as internal purification. By external purification is meant the ending of internecine,... While by internal purification is meant the turning away from falsehood and deceit.”

He would be ready to do everything to end the useless antagonism between the two peoples only if the king of Malwa did not lend his ear to irresponsible advisers and if he could be relied upon to follow the correct line of action<sup>38</sup>. In another letter to Shaikh Dawud, he says that the foundation of promises made by the Khalji were as slender as the spider's web and nothing further could be done unless the outward purity of action were in line with the inward purity of intention. Malwa should know that the history of Malik Shah's defeat could never be repeated and that the Deccan was always ready to fight and win in the cause of freedom and righteousness<sup>39</sup>.

The response came in the shape of another peace mission, the members of which were Qazi Laddan (sic) Tahir and Is'haq Tahir, who represented that Mahmud Khalji was really sorry for all that had happened. The Deccani men of piety and learning

thereupon persuaded the king to send his own envoy with a satisfactory reply<sup>40</sup>. Aqza'l Quzat Haji Malik Ahmad and Qazi Shaikh Muhtasib were thereupon sent to Mandu, and the ally of the Deccan, the king of Gujarat, was duly informed. The mission to Mandu carried an autograph letter from the Bahmani king to the king of Malwa expressing the desire on the part of the former for a lasting and a permanent peace<sup>41</sup>. It was received by Mahmud Khalji with great pomp and the leader Aqze' Quzat Ahmad was more over received in private audience by the king. Finally a treaty of peace and friendship was signed by Shaikh Ahmad on behalf of the Deccan and Shaikhu'l-Islam, Salamu'l-lah Auhadi on behalf of Malwa and was duly sealed by the amara and masha'ikh present who showered curses on the party which dared to break it<sup>42</sup>. By this treaty Kherla was handed over to Malwa and Berar kept by the Deccan. The whole episode ended in burying past quarrels between the two neighbouring states and cementing ties of friendship by exchange of mutual envoys "in order that the rules of friendship might serve as the foundation of love which should henceforth shine like a glittering and a highly ornamental palace<sup>43</sup>." This just settlement and the feeling of mutual respect between the Deccan and Malwa were the direct outcome of the policy of Mahmud Gawan and lasted



till the end of the Bahmani state, for never was the feud resumed<sup>44</sup>.

We have followed the exploits of Kapileshwar of Orissa as far as his defeat at the hands of Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk. His last years were further marred by his defeat in 1470 by a coalition of the Bahmanis and Vijayanagar, the government of which had passed into the hands of the minister Saluva Narasimha who was soon to oust Virupaksha from the throne and found a new dynasty<sup>45</sup>. A short while after, news arrived at Bidar of the illness and death of the Raja of Orissa and of the usurpation of authority by a Brahman, Mangal Rai. The latter had expelled the rightful heir Hamvira now petitioned the Bahmani Sultan to help him in regaining his patrimony. This was probably the same Hamvira whom Kapileshwar had sent to help Linga in driving the Bahmani out of Tilangana in Humayun's reign and now the very man who had forced the Bahmani army to raise the siege of Dewarkonda actually begs them for help<sup>46</sup>. No doubt this change in the position of the Deccan, embodied firstly by its alliance with Vijayanagar and then by this request for interference in the internal affairs of Orissa, was due to the superior diplomacy of Mahmud Gawan's ministry as well as by Bahmani successes in the field of battle<sup>47</sup>. It was also probably due to the effective organization of political forces and the greater sense of unity

which that organization had inculcated. Anyhow, on receiving Hamvira's petition the Sultan held a council of war at which Mulik Hasan Basri, who had now become the Sultan's favourite, volunteered to lead the expedition, and on Mahmud Gawan's special recommendation, was granted its command. As a result of the campaign Hasan forced the usurper Mangal Rai to leave Orissa and vacate the throne for Hamvira who now became the ruler of Orissa<sup>48</sup>. Malik Hasan was, however, not content with this, and at the Sultan's instance, went and conquered Rajahmundri and the erstwhile seat of the Reddis, the great fort of Kondavidu. When he arrived back at Bidar he was graciously received by the Sultan with great deference, granted a robe of honour and at the instance of the Dowager Queen and Mahmud Gawan made Sarlashkar of Tilangana with the title of Nizamu'l-Mulk<sup>49</sup>.

### **Military Achievements of Mahmud Gawan:**

With the rectification of the northern and eastern frontiers of the Kingdom, it was now the turn of the western coastline to be brought under control. As we have mentioned the western lands called Konkan and the Desh were nominally under the Bahmani scepter but had never been effectively occupied, and the massacre of Khalaf Hasan Basri and his companions had left

a blot on the reputation of the Bahmani arms with the resultant restiveness of the local chiefs. Two of these chiefs seem more powerful than the rest, namely the Rayas of Khelna and Sangameshwar, and they were in the habit of intercepting trading vessels plying in the Arabian Sea, sending hundreds of boats out every to battle with these ships<sup>50</sup>. The Raya of Sangameshwar alone sent nearly one hundred and thirty vessels to rob the Mecca pilgrims annually, and “many thousands of Muslims were sacrificed at the altar of the greed of these people, These piratical raids must have meant a big decline in the maritime commerce of the country as the merchants were afraid to take out their ware, and while the chiefs were no doubt enriched by their robbery, the country as a whole was impoverished<sup>51</sup>. The immediate cause of the conflict seems to have been that the local Rayas had gathered together three hundred country craft and were waylaying travellers by sea in spite of repeated warnings<sup>52</sup>.

The first campaign undertaken was by the Sultan himself during which he reduced Hubli after a siege. Much booty was taken from the local chiefs and they were forced to pay tribute to the Bahmani state. This was, of course, carried out in order to project the southern flank of the Bahmani forces during the next phases of the campaigns<sup>53</sup>.

In the beginning of 874/1469-70, Muhammad Shah expressed a desire that the Konkan should be effectively subdued so that peace and plenty, rather than uneasiness and restlessness, should be the order of the day<sup>54</sup>. What he wanted was to lead the campaign himself as he had done a short while before, but Mahmud Gawan, perhaps aware of the difficulties of the country to be subdued, begged that His Majesty should not take the trouble himself but he should be allowed to act as Commander<sup>55</sup>. On receiving royal order, the Khwajah proceeded to Kolhapur and made that city his headquarters. On the other hand, when the Rayas heard of the arrival of the Bahmani forces, they forthwith closed the Ghats which were their natural gateway and “vowed that they would put to the sword every Muslim living in their country if the Bahmani advanced<sup>56</sup>.” Soon Mahmud Gawan found that his cavalry was of no use whatsoever in the mountainous region through which he had to proceed and was only acting as an impediment to his mobility, so he sent it back. At the same time he sent orders for reinforcements to his own province of Bijapur<sup>57</sup>. His manumitted slave, Khush Qadam, who was later created Kishwar Khan, brought the forces from Dabul and Karhad, while the armies of Junnar and Chakan came under the command of As’ad Khan, and help also arrived from Chaul, Wai and Man. The ground was

covered with thick jungle and the Khwajah lost no time ordering his men to cut down and burn the woods<sup>58</sup>. It seems that the enemy began by having recourse to guerilla warfare “giving fifty battles” to Mahmud Gawan’s troops. This went on for many weeks, heavy rains set in, and the Khwaja had to retire to his thatched headquarters at Kolhapur<sup>59</sup>.

When the rains had subsided to a certain, the Khwajah emerged from his retreat and marched on the fortress of Raingna, “which was so strong that its forced capture was possible only with the greatest carnage<sup>60</sup>.” So, evidently in order to stop wanton bloodshed, he opened his purse-strings for the leaders of the opposing forces and they were offered “Frankish cloth, belts studded with jewels, palanquins, Arab steed and arms of the most exquisite pattern” and the proud fort was surrendered only with a slight bloodshed after the payment of an indemnity of twelve lakhs in cash and kind, on 20.1.875/19.7.1470. From Raingna he marched to the fort of Machal “the largest fort in the neighbourhood,” which was attacked in full force, and “battements, pigeonholes and bastions of the skyscraping eminence” were all reduced and every one of the surviving defenders made a prisoner of war<sup>61</sup>. The Raya was so hard pressed that he sent his own son “with some wise men” from the neighbouring fort of Khelna to surrender the fort to the

Bahmani arms, and the surrender was finally effected on 22 7.875/14.1.1471.

In spite of the rapid movements of the army, the long-drawn battles and guerilla tactics of the enemy must have told on the Khwajah's resources<sup>62</sup>. Jahurai of Sangameshwar was not the man to look forward to give in without a struggle, and during the fighting in the spring of 1471 he was not allowed to make much progress. Moreover, as Khwajah himself relates, this hilly country was studded with mighty forts "each of which in its height and extension is like the jungles of Tabaristan and Demawand." Before marching onward to Sangameshwar itself, the Khwajah wrote to Bidar for further reinforcements, for, if he were entrapped in this difficult and Godforsaken land, he as well as the royal army would perhaps share the fate of his predecessor Khalaf Hassan Basri<sup>63</sup>. The protracted absence of the Khwajah from Bidar had given a long sought opportunity to the party opposed to him, and they began to undermine him in two ways, firstly by traitorously withholding reinforcements from reaching the Konkan and further by beginning to poison the mind of the king himself<sup>64</sup>.

We have in our possession three letters which the Khwaja wrote to friends and ministers from the actual theatre of war showing his great concern at the machinations of his opponents

while he was leading the royal forces to victory after victory against great odds. He writes “to a friend”<sup>65</sup>.

“I am very much grieved at the wanton acts of the iniquitous and the envious, and am grateful for the regard of the small number of my ‘helpers’. The delay in the arrival of the army of As’ad Khan and the refusal to commission troops, in the name of his Majesty are all matters of deepest concern<sup>66</sup>. The real object of the party of envy is that those unfortunates who happened to in the island of Goa should be martyred at the hands of the enemy and the star of the honour of this humble servant should set in the horizon of utter obscurity”<sup>67</sup>.

In another he writes to a Bahmani minister thus:

“If anyone believes in the help of the nobles, Khans and Maliks of this kingdom he can only reap a harvest of utter failure and hopelessness. On the other hand if one shoots the arrows of Endeavour and vigilance at the butt of the fulfillment of his objects by the strength of his own arms without the hope of any external help, for him there is an assurance of success<sup>68</sup>. You are fully aware that the Konkan country is full of jungle and mountain and it is impossible for the army to pass through without cutting down the trees and to a certain extent leveling the ground for the army to pass through.. You can well

understand that this task is difficult of accomplishment without manpower and the required implements<sup>69</sup>.

As has been said, apart from trying to undo the Khwajah's efforts in the cause of the greatness of the Bahmani kingdom, the opposing faction was poisoning the mind of the king against him and this was already preparing the ground for fateful day of his murder<sup>70</sup>. When he got to know of the conspiracy hatching at the capital, he wrote a letter to 'a minister' in which he complained:

"At this hour the arrows of affliction and calumny are being shot against my heart from the bow of the enmity of the envious. Untruths are being made to hide the faint sparks of truth and these are sent up as the food to the Royal Throne. The world-consuming fire is burning in the ovens of their dreadful hearts<sup>71</sup>. And one is not aware how long the people of the capital are going to shut their eyes and ears to the truth."

Again, writing to Qaziu'l Quzat Sadr Jahan he says:

Their treasuries are full of sinfully earned money, just as their hearts are full of greed, ignorance and envy. Although the dark existence of these men are such that out of sheer malice they would kill each other and make and me the object of all the wrongs which it is in their power to perpetrate<sup>72</sup>."



These letters throw a lurid light on what was happening at Bidar and show how seriously handicapped Mahmud Gawan was in fighting Jakhurai of Sangameshwar and his associates how keen he was to pacify the western coast-line in order to ensure that "the travelers by land and sea should be free from the fear of marauders and pirates." In spite of the great risks he was incurring he knew that things were taking an adverse turn at the capital. Nevertheless he went steadily forward and did not turn his back till his mission had been fulfilled<sup>73</sup>. After Machal and Khelna the forests of Balwara, Miriad and Nagar were captured, but now the rainy season set in, which he spent at Kolhapur. When the rains had subsided, he marched on to the great fort of Sangameshwar, "second only to Junnar" which had once been subdued by Khalaf Hasan Basri. The army, encamped outside the wall of the great fort, so thoroughly frightened the Raya that he sent his own son to make peace with the commander of the royal army, and Sangameshwar opened its gates to the Khwaja on 29.6.876/13.12.1471, while the next day, on 1.7.976/14.12.1471, the Raya made his formal submission<sup>74</sup>.

One object of the campaign, namely the end of the power of the recalcitrant gakhurai, had been attained. Mahmud Gawan rightly perceived that the Raya had at his back the power of the Raya of Vijayanagar, whose port, Goa was only fourteen farsakh

from Sangameshwar. Moreover the Muslims of the port towns in possession of Vijayanagar had been very badly treated, and quite recently as many as ten thousand of them had been massacred in cold blood for having sold Arab horses to the Bahmani Sultan<sup>75</sup>. Probably to avenge this great wrong as well as to attack what Mahmud Gawan knew was the very heart of Vijayanagar and “which was the centre of all mischief” and the real cause of the rebellious attitude of the Bahmani protectorate, the army moved on to Goa after strengthening the Bahmani position in the subdued region. Mahmud Gawan describes Goa as “the envy of the islands and ports of India and famed for its line climate, its cocoanuts and betel-nuts as well as for its springs, canals and plenty of sugarcane and betel-leaf.” He says that “owing to the abundance of its trees and springs it is like the mirror of the Grove of the Genii and a copy of the Cistern of Plenty The Kijwaja sent 120 boats by sea apart from the land forces which “consisted of the ‘tigers’ of Arabia and the ‘lions of Persia<sup>76</sup>.” As’ad Khan and Kishwar Khan had preceded the main army, while his son ‘Ali Maliku’t Tujjar was sent as a diversion “to conquer Vijayanagar forts.” It seems that while As’ad Khan and Kishwar Khan were waiting for him at Goa the people of that city were actually sending deputations to these commanders in order to arrange for the terms of surrender<sup>77</sup>. Thus hardly any

attempts were made to defend the city when the main army arrived, and it was captured and annexed to the Kingdom on 20.8.876/1.2.1472.

Having accomplished his purpose with such sagacity and speed the Khwajah now turned his steps home. He had heard that the party hostile to him at the capital was intending to bring the king to the battlefield in person, which would not only have been a great hardship to the Sultan but would have been useless as everything that was to be accomplished had been achieved<sup>78</sup>. Moreover, if the king was to come, the Khwajah must meet him at least way. So “it was time to tie the saddle of circumspection on to the steed of decision” and join the Sultan’s army, so that “His Majesty might with his own eyes see the fruit of the ruses of the ignorant and the consequence of the words of mean chatterers. He goes on to say: Although some people are greatly shocked to hear what the intriguers have to say, still there are others who think that implications of that party are not impossible.” Any how the Khwajah begun to retrace his steps on 1.11.876/10.4.1472 after leaving a strong garrison at Goa, reaching the capital on 10.12.876/19.5.1472. He had been away in the western regions for nearly three years and now returned to Bidar with huge spoils of war and was, perhaps contrary to his expectation, received with great joy by his royal master who sent

ten of his ministers to receive him<sup>79</sup>. Kettledrums were ordered to be beaten for a whole week during which the king honoured him by being his guest giving him a suit of his own robes, while the Dowager Queen addressed him as her brother and did him the unique honour of actually appearing before him unveiled. His already profuse titles were further enlarged by the addition of “Lord of the Benign Council, Great Leader and Lord, Wielder of the Pen and the sword,” and the forts of Goa, Londa and Kolhapur were added to his jurisdiction<sup>80</sup>.

Although this was really the climax of the Khwaja’s honour and greatness and he was now supreme in the land, his conduct showed that he was not prone to any mean thoughts and temptation. It is related that after the departure of the king from his mansion, the Khwajah retired and praised the Almighty for all His kindness, wept, put on the robes of a dervish and distributed clothes, eatables, jewels, etc., to the Sayeds of Bidar<sup>81</sup>. When Mulla Shamsu’d-din Muhammad asked him why he was so lavishly giving away his wealth and why he was crying when ought to be happy at such great honours showered upon, he replied that he was doing this in order to shake off all sense of pride, temptation and other evil passions which had been engendered. During the rest of his life he always dressed very simply and spends his leisure hours in mosques or in the great

college which he had founded. On Fridays he would go disguised to different wards of the Capital distributing alms to the needy and the lowly and telling them that the alms were on behalf of the king and it was for His Majesty's long life and property that they should all pray<sup>82</sup>.

Yusuf 'Adil Khan, who had recently been appointed governor of the Maharashtra provinces with its centre at Daulatabad, had soon to show his mettle. During the war with Malwa, a part of the north-western province, including the territories of Virakhara, and Antur, had seceded and fallen into the hands of the Maratha chiefs, the leader of whom, Jansing Rai, was holding Virakhara. The Sultan now ordered Yusuf 'Adil to proceed against these intruders<sup>83</sup>. The occupants of Antur could not withstand the Bahmani arms and sued for peace, but Virakhara held out for six months, at the end of which he begged that he and his army should be allowed to depart in safety. This request was granted and the stronghold of Virakhara was given by the king to 'Adil Khan as a jagir along with the surrounding country<sup>84</sup>. Yusuf now returned to the capital laden with booty, jewels, money and elephants and was received by the king in a truly royal manner. His Majesty ordered that the Khwajah should entertain Yusuf for a whole week on his behalf, after which the king went to stay with the Khwajah himself, and

allowed so many liberties to Yusuf in his own presence that it made the scions of the old aristocracy jealous of him and led further to a great rupture between the Old comers and the Newcomers<sup>85</sup>.

The Maratha chiefs continued to be restive and in spite of the most solemn promises they had made, were bent on taking advantage of any opportunity that might be offered to them. With a strong man like Yusuf 'Adil at Daulatabad there was little danger from that quarter but the Goa country was still giving trouble. In the later part of 1472 it was reported that Parketa, chief of Belgaum, and the Sipathdar of Bankapur were about to raise an insurrection at the instigation of the Raya of Vijayanagar and were actually blockading Goa<sup>86</sup>. Mahmud Gawan thereupon reported the matter to the king and begged that he be allowed to lead the campaign so that he might break the back of the Vijayanagar state and end the turmoil once and for all. Perhaps influenced by the members of the old aristocracy who did not want further laurels to be won by the Khwajah, the king led his troops in person and marched out of the capital on 15.10.877/15.3.1473. On reaching Belgaum the royal army found that the fort was one of the strongest in the neighbourhood, and was built on a rock-cut perpendicularly from the bottom to the top and surrounded by a deep ditch full

of water<sup>87</sup>. The king, finding that the immediate capture of Belgaum was impossible, proceeded to besiege the fortress and ordered that another redoubt be erected opposite the old fort. Parketa, on the other hand, finding that the Bahmani army was very powerful, tried the stratagem of bribing the generals and commanders. The result was that the next day the generals requested the king that Parketa was willing to lay down his arms and might be pardoned. The king was keen enough to see the ruse and said that he had been bothered too much with the affairs in the locality, and as he wished to set an example he ordered “five workers” to take the fortress by storm at the latest in a fortnight’s time and asked Mahmud Gawan to fill up the moat<sup>88</sup>. Mahmud Gawan’s attempts came to naught as Parketa would remove during the night the earth which had been filled in during the day. After repeated failures mines were sprung under the walls of the fort by Mahmud Gawan, Yusuf ‘Adil and Fathu’l-lah ‘Imadu’l Mulk and fired causing the walls to be breached. Now the king himself led the onslaught and made an assault gaining the ramparts of the fort. Seeing that further resistance was useless, Parketa now tied around his neck and placed himself on the King’s mercy. The fortress was reduced and given to Mahmud Gawan as a jagir, while the Raya was pardoned and even made an Amir of the kingdom. Thus was Mahmud Gawan’s

reputation avenged and the king clearly saw that he had no more loyal or more faithful servant than the Khwajah. In response to a petition of the Khwajah, the king now assumed the title of Lashkari or 'Warrior' in commemoration of the great success he had personally achieved, and it is with this title he is known in history<sup>89</sup>.

On the way back the whole army was stricken with grief over the death of Khwajah's patroness and helpmate, the Dowager Queen Makhduma-i-Jahan, who had accompanied her son on this arduous campaign. The king was naturally very much grieved and wrote to his ally the king of Gujarat informing him of his bereavement. No one had a greater shock than the Khwajah, who in a letter to his brother 'Amidu'l Mulk at Mecca, says that the Queen's death was a personal loss to him, and goes on: "Over and above the excess of weakness naturally due to age, the terrible calamity of the passing away of His Majesty's mother and the increasing burdens of government have told on me and it is difficult for me to keep the mark of obedience and acceptance on the neck of strength and ability still. I feel a duty and like the payment of a long-standing debt to put the ball of my heart on the field of the homage owe to his Majesty's person<sup>90</sup>."



The death of the Queen left a gap in the body-politic of the land which it was impossible to fill, as she was “loved by young and old, Hindu and Muslims, for her kindness and charitable demeanour. Never daunted, however, and knowing full well that the number of his enemies exceeded those who called themselves friends, Mahmud went on to rid the kingdom of its ill by his far-reaching though short-lived reforms<sup>91</sup>.

On his way back to the capital, Muhammad Shah Lashkari broke his journey for a few days at Kalabagh near Bijapur, the centre of Mahmud Gawan’s governorate. He intended to stay there during the rainy season but was confronted by a severe drought causing what is called the Bijapur famine in history, and so he hurried back to Bidar<sup>92</sup>.

### **Administrative Reforms of Mahmud Gawan:**

With the boundaries of the Bahmani kingdom now touching the Bay of Bengal in the East and the Arabian Sea in the West, it was time to reform the principles of administration which had been laid down as far back as the reign of Muhammad-I a century ago. The kingdom then comprised. The table-land of the Deccan up to the Western Ghats, a small portion of Tilangana and the Raichur Do’ ab. and the four provinces carved out by Muhammad I were Berar, Daulatabad,

Ahsanbad-Gulbarga and Tilangana<sup>93</sup>. The onward march of the kingdom during the century, especially during Mahmud Gawan's ministry, was phenomenal, and the Bahmani Empire now embraced the whole of the Konkan coast in the West, Goa in the South-west, the utmost limits of the Andhra-desa in the East and the river Tungabhadra in the South, while its direct dominion included Berar and its frontier touched Khandesh which will presently be seen, had become a Bahmani protectorate. In spite of this great extension no attempt had yet been made to recast the provincial administration and the former divisions had been suffered to remain as before with vastly extended areas. The result of this incongruity was that the tarafdars of each province had virtually become a small potentate with his territory sometimes ready to withstand the order of the central government itself<sup>94</sup>.

It was after the Maharashtra campaign that Mahmud Gawan probably began to think of reforming the provincial administration on a utilitarian and a scientific basis. Instead of the vastly overgrown a taraf he divided the empire into eight sariashkarships or provinces of a moderate size<sup>95</sup>. Two provinces, Gawil and Mainur, were carved out of the old 'Berar', Daulatabad and Junnar (comprising most of Anandapur and the whole territory between Daman, Bassein, Goa and Belgaum),

formed the old 'Daulatabad', Bijapur (up to the river Hora and including Raichur and Mudgal) and Ahsanbad-Gulbarga, (from Sagar to Naldurg along with Sholapur) represented the old 'Gulbarga', while the old 'Thila gana' with new additions was divided into two charges, Rajahmundri including Nalgonda, Masulipatam and the 'Oriya' territory) and Warangal. Apart from nearly halving the old provincial areas, the Khwajah removed certain tracts from the jurisdiction of each of the new governors bringing them directly under the control of the king himself as the Khwajah-i-Saitani or the Royal Domain, thus putting a strong check on the power of tarafdars in their own provinces<sup>96</sup>.

Even this was insufficient for the reformer's hand. It had been the rule almost since the foundation of the Bahmani state that there was no limit to the authority of the tarafdar over the military affairs of the province, as he could not only appoint commanders of the garrison in various parts within his territory, but was more or less at liberty to keep as many men active duty as he liked. As he was thus the sole authority in all military matters he could save a large amount from the mansab he received from the central treasury or the jagir he possessed, even to the extent of depleting the military forces which might, therefore, not be able to withstand external dangers<sup>97</sup>.

Mahmud revolutionized the whole system of military administration. He made it the rule that there should be only one fortress under the direct command of the tarafdar in the whole province, while the qil'adars or commandants of all the other forts should be appointed by the central government and be responsible to it. Having an eye on every detail of the administration, he was aware of the corruption and mismanagement caused by the system under which each commander was given a certain jagir without reference to his capability or loyalty, and although the amount had been originally fixed in proportion to the troops at the command of the mansabdar or jagirdar, the system had become very lax in the course of time and grants were made without much regard to the duty of keeping any fixed number of troops<sup>98</sup>. The Khwajah reformed the plan in a thorough-going He made the rule that every jagirdar should be paid at the rate of a lakh of huns (later raised to a lac and a quarter) annually for every 500 men kept under arms, and if jagirs were granted in lieu of cash payments, provision was made whereby the jagirdar was to be compensated to the extent of losses incurred in the collection of rent. On the other hand if a mansabdar or jagirdar failed to maintain the stipulated number of soldiers, he had to refund the proportionate amount to the royal treasury<sup>99</sup>.

Apart from these civil and military reforms, Mahmud Gawan was one of the first ministers in Mediaeval India to order a systematic measurement of land, fixing the boundaries of villages and towns and making a thorough enquiry into the assessment of revenue. Thus on the one hand, he made it easy to determine the income of the state and to furnish a record of rights forestalling Raja Todar Mal's reforms by a century, on the other hand he tried to curb the power of the nobles and thereby raise the status of the royal government at the centre<sup>100</sup>.

True to his principle of the Balance of Power, he recruited unequal number of Old comers-habashis and dakhnis-and New-comers-Iranian, Circassian and Central: Asian immigrants-in the royal body-guard, thus definitely from the one-sided policy adopted by 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II. In the same way while filling the new governorship he took care not to show any partiality towards one party against another<sup>101</sup>. Thus he made Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Malik Hasan Nizam'l-Mulk, both 'dakhnis', sarlashkars of Mahue and Gulbarga respectively and Prince Azam Khan son of Sikandar Khan, sarlaskar, of Warangal, handed over the charge of Daulatabad and Junnir to Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Fakhru'l-Mulk Gilani respectively, and kept the province of Bijapur himself<sup>102</sup>. If we analyze this distribution of the provinces we would perceive its judiciousness, for while four

provinces were handed over to 'Old comers' and one to A'zam Khan, (representative of the recalcitrant group in the Royal House) as a mark of goodwill, only three provinces out of a total of eight were given in charge of New-comers including one for himself<sup>103</sup>.

### **Mahmud Gawan's Contribution to Education, Literature, Art and Architecture:**

#### **1. Early Madrasah of Islamic world:**

From the very earliest days of Islam, the issue of education has been at the forefront at the minds of the Muslims. The very first word of the holy Quran that was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was, in fact, "Read". Prophet Muhammad once stated that "Seeking knowledge is mandatory for all Muslims", with such a direct command to go out and seek knowledge. Muslims have placed huge emphasis on the educational system in order to fulfill this obligation placed on them by the prophet.

Throughout Islamic history, education was a point of pride and a field Muslims have always excelled in. Muslims built great libraries and learning centers in places such as Baghdad, Cordoba and Cairo. They established the first primary schools for children and universities for continuing education. They

advanced sciences by incredible leaps and bounds through such institutions, leading up today's modern world.

The very first educational institutions of the Islamic world were quite informal. Mosques were used as a meeting place where people can gather around a learned scholar, attend his lectures, read books with him/her and gain knowledge. Some of the greatest scholars of Islam learned in such a way, and taught their students this way as well<sup>104</sup>.

## **2. Education:**

During that period education of the Muslim child started after the initiation ceremony called '*Bismillah*', then the child attend the nearby maktab. It was necessary for every Muslim boy at least to attend maktab and learn necessary portion of the Holy Quran required for daily prayer. In maktab the curriculum comprise of reading, writing and elementary mathematics. Reading of Persian letters with correct pronunciation were taught. After learning letters they were taught words and then made to read and write short sentences. Writing was practiced in *Takhteess* and on sand with fingers. In addition to Persian letters they learned songs and moral stories, Arabic and Persian grammar was also taught students were not allowed to go for

higher studies until they become perfect in the elementary stage, this method was highly appreciable.

Higher education was imparted in Madrasa's usually located in the place where the population was high. Students who had completed religious and other studies in maktab received admissions at Madrasa's. Here along with the Quran Hadith and their interpretations subjects like algebra, geometry, logic, history, Unani system of medicine, ethics, astronomy, law, accounts, agriculture, economics, correspondence, writing applications and administrative terminologies were taught in these schools. If the students were found to be poor they were provided with food and shelter. Learned Mullahs and *Moulvis* ran Madrasa's and Maktabas with great enthusiasm.

### **Bismillah Ceremony and Madrasah Education:**

The Islamic scholars or *moulvis* ran the *Madrasa's* and well-known *makhtabs*. Parents escorted their children to school where pious and selfless teachers took their jobs seriously, and assumed proper care of the pupils. Initiation started very early for the child, in fact at the exact age of four years, four months and four days. The *Bismillah* (in the name of God the most merciful and the most beneficent) ritual was undertaken, where the child was dressed in new clothes, and a feast ensued, to



which family members and relatives were invited. The village *mullah* initiated the boy by making him recite the relevant prayer of *Bismillah*, and the *mullah* received *Nazrana* i.e., presents for his services. From the next day onwards, the child attended the nearby *Makhtab*, in addition to Persian letters, he learnt songs and moral stories. The book of Shaikh Saadi's *Bostan* was the most popular text, along with the *Gulistan*. Arabic, Persian grammar and other language were also taught. Correspondence, terminologies were taught in these Islamic schools.

Life in residential Islamic schools started early in the morning with ablutions and prayer, followed by the lessons. Hand written books were few and usually shared by the youngsters. Self study was important, while memorizing and recitation formed part of a lesson.

The syllabus employed at the *Madrasah*, served a blend of *Naql-i-uloom* (revealed Sciences), including the *Holy Quran*, the hadith, *Fiqah* (Islamic Jurisprudence) and *Tafsir* (Quranic commentary), on the one hand, and the *Aql-i-uloom* (rational Sciences), including Arabic language, grammar, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, physics and mathematics.

After the completion of the lessons and gaining perfection in the subject the institution held annual gathering called *Dastar-i-bandi*, in a form of convocation where the pupil parents,

relatives and friends were invited. The pupil was asked to read and write the lessons in between the pages as desired by the tutor. After finding the graduates perfection a green colour turban was tied on his forehead, which was presented by the institution, to declare the award of degree of excellence. Later, the graduate was entitled to seek a variety of occupation according to his interest and perfection, such as administrators, religious posts, like *Qazi* (judge) teachers in Islamic schools and prayer leaders in mosques (*imam*) as soon and so forth<sup>105</sup>.

Some of the Sultans of Bahmani kingdom was great patrons of letters, and one of them was almost as great in literary enterprise as Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq of the Imperial dynasty. The founder of the Bahmani house, however, was not much noted either for his literary accomplishments or for his literary encouragement. But he knew Persian, and took care for the education of his sons. We learn that the *Bustan* of *Saadi* was a favourite book included in the course of study of the princes.

### **Curriculum of Madrasah:**

. The curriculum of Muslim education, like its Hindu counterpart, was of a complex nature and consisted of Arabic grammar, Arabic literature of the period both before and after the advent of Islam, rhetoric, logic, Holy Quran and Quranic

exegesis, Hadith, logic of the Aristotelian variety, Sufism and other branches of Arabic learning. Each of these was taught according to a set pattern. Mohammad-II, himself a poet of some note, appointed teachers in various important centres of the kingdom such as Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Elichpur, Daulatabad, Junnar, Chaul and Dabhol, for imparting Islamic learning, and granted scholarships to the needy students. The great college founded by Khwaja Imaduddin Mahmud Gawan at Bidar in 1471 A.D, which was perhaps an extension of the original school at the capital, became the centre of the highest form of Muslim education in the Deccan. The Khwaja Mahmud Gawan tried his utmost to get such giants of contemporary Islamic lore as Jalaluddin Dawwami, Sadruddin Rawasi and others, to come to Bidar. He made the Madrasah library one of the richest in the land. Calligraphy had also an honoured place in the courses of study, and mainly sports like archery, riding, playing at Chaugan (polo) was considered essential accomplishments for young men of the aristocracy<sup>106</sup>.

### **3. Literature:**

The pace of Indo-Persian collaboration was suddenly accelerated by the decision of Mohammad bin Tughluq to transfer his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. Deccan should

acknowledge its gratefulness to this monarch for his enterprise, his eventful decision, of partially shifting the seat of government from Delhi to Daulatabad in the South in 1328 A.D, made a great change in the destinies of the Deccan. Though Delhi was not completely deserted, and it never became such a desolate and dismal ruin “where not even a cat or a dog was left in the buildings and palaces”, as was the popular and wrong belief. It still continued to be the centre of administrative activities. It was nevertheless true that a large body of Muslim nobility and gentry was compelled to quit Delhi and to go to the Deccan. This desertion of Delhi vouchsafed an unexpected blessing on the Deccan. As a seat of government, Daulatabad soon became a centre of cultural activities. Amongst hundreds of these unwilling immigrants to the south were many poets, scholars, litterateurs, artists, mystics and divines, whose stayed in the new capital transformed it into a seat of Islamic studies. The celebrated poet Hasan-i-Dehlawi who came along with the caravan of the immigrants to the South, and made Daulatabad his home is said to have breathed his last in the Deccan. This influx of poets, theologians and mystics in the Deccan marks the starting point of our study. Earliest specimens of Persian literature in the Deccan belong to this period<sup>107</sup>.

### **Riyaz-ul-Insha and Manazir-ul-Insha:**

The Riyaz-ul-Insha is a collection of letters written by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan either in his own name or in the name of his master the Bahmani Sultan. The letters contain a vast amount of the most interesting and useful material which throws floods of light on the cultural relations of the Bahmanis with the Islamic countries and gives an insight into contemporary Bahmani history. There are altogether 148 letters in the collection out of which 105 have a direct bearing on the foreign cultural relations.

Khwaja Mahmud Gawan possessed a unique mastery in the technique of Riyaz-ul-Insha writing and has displayed masterfully his literary art. Though he modestly states at the outset that the Riyaz-ul-Insha was not the outcome of any serious and steady application of his creative genius, still the contents of the letters prove to the contrary. He has displayed in them intensive study of the classics and his thorough conversance with the styles of master *Insha* writers. Each and a very letter bears testimony that his wonderful mind and memory were a veritable treasure house of Quranic verses, hadith, Arabic proverbs, Persian idioms and verses of classical poets. The diction of the *Insha* is invariably of Arabic extraction. The preponderance of Arabic verbal nouns and word formations has

resulted in making the language tense and pedantic. The letters have free admixture of quotations from the Holy Quran and Arabic poetry and a large number of Arabic phrases have been infused to illustrate the point of view. However, frequent employment of sensuous imagery either short or sustained lightens the somewhat pedantic tone of the letters. As Khwaja Mahmud Gawan himself was an Irani and a great scholar of Persian art and architecture it is but natural that this influenced his style in the main and thus his work appear to be more Iranian than a product of Indo-Persian literature<sup>108</sup>.

It is surprising that with the busy time Khwaja Mahmud Gawan must be having in the capital or on the battle field he should have found leisure not only to make friends with some of the most renowned literature of the day but to make such a great impression on his contemporaries by his great treasury of vocabulary, wit and knowledge as to be recognized as one of the great prose and poetry writers of the period. Letters to these contained in the *Riyaz-ul-Insha* are of three kinds:

1. Those in which he informs them of the strides which the Bahmani Empire was making in the pacifications of the country especially the western ports;

2. Those in which he writes to them to come and honour the Deccan by their presence and perhaps lecture at his great foundation the Madrasah at Bidar;
3. Those by which he maintains connection with men of learning and culture in Persia and elsewhere.

He himself was a writer of great merit, and though we do not possess the collection of his verses, his letters are interpressed with verses of his own composition, and there and the only other work extant, is the *Manazir-ul-Insha*, which shows the mastery he had over Persian and Arabic literature. Apart from numerous quotations in prose and verse which are detailed in the letters contained in the *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, there are two long Persian odes in it, one in praise of Humayun Shah, and the other in praise of Mohammad Shah-III<sup>30</sup>. On a perusal of these as well as hundreds of his own odd lines interspersed in the collection of letters one feels that in spite of the introduction of similes and metaphors Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's poetry is more factual and perhaps based less on pure imagination than that of many of his contemporaries, and is thus different to the poetry which was in vogue in those days. His prose has a greater lucidity and flow than his poetry, and he had a wonderful array of words and quotations at his command which make his compositions absolutely unique<sup>109</sup>.

It is significant that the only original work we possess by him is the *Manazir-ul-Insha* on the art of diction. It is a work compiled in A.D. 1475 and is really a handbook on Persian diction both oratorical and written of the ornate species in fashion in those days in the learned circles of Persia and India. He deals with the subject in four parts, *viz.*, a prolegomena, two theses and an epilogue, and takes his cue not only from Persian writings but from, Arabic literature as well, always applying what he got from foreign sources to Persian conditions. The book is full of illustrative quotations and references to the Holy Quran, Apostolic traditions as well as Arabic and Persian authors, all of which goes to prove the great versatility and the wonderful command the master had on the literature of these two languages. A part from the historical material contained in the *Riyaz-ul-Insha* this collection of his letters is a fine example of how the author lived up to the principle he propounded in the *Manazir-ul-Insha*.

The *Riyaz-ul-Insha* contains 27 letters which Khwaja Mahmud Gawan wrote to the rulers of the foreign countries. They are addressed 24 letters to the Sultans of various independent states of Iran Gilan, Gurgan, Herat and Khurasan, four letters to the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey, and one to the Sultan of Egypt, these letters were not motivated by any



diplomatic or political motives with one exception to the ruler of Heart where there are political motives for alliance against Vijayanagara. These are cultural in nature and were meant just to maintain close contacts with the Islamic countries, as will be evident from their contents.

There are sixteen letters of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan addressed to the Sultans of Gilan. Various topics have been touched in these correspondences. In one letter Khwaja pays his homage to Sultan Alauddin and recalling old family links, he expressed his fidelity to the rulers of Gilan who were patrons and well wishers of his own forbearers. A gist of one of the letters is given here which highlights Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's leaning towards Gilan and his faith in its ruler.

In the Riyaz-ul-Insha there are three letters of the Khwaja in the name of Sultan Abu Sa'id Gurgan, grandfather of Mughal Emperor Babur.

There are only two letters in the name of Sultan Husain Baiqara of Khurasan.

The letter No. 57 of Riyaz-ul-Insha to Amir Jahan Shah Lari is the first important exceptional letter which informs us about Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's political motives behind the correspondence. It highlights a proposal for a joint alliance or a

confederacy of Islamic countries against the Vijayanagara kingdom.

Though the *Riyaz-ul-Insha* has only three letters addressed to Sultan Mohammad-II of Turkey, yet they give evidence of the strong and earnest desire of the Khwaja Mahmud Gawan to establish and maintain cultural ties with the Ottomans.

Cultural envoys and correspondence were exchanged by Gawan with the Sultan Hasan Baig of Iraq. From the letter of the Khwaja to Sultan Hasan it appears that the initiative to establish friendly relations by sending an embassy and a letter was taken by the latter. Sultan Hasan sent a letter to the Khwaja through his envoy Amir Jalaluddin.

After having established friendly relations with almost all the major Islamic countries, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan then tried to mediate between Iraq and Egypt in order to restore friendly relations between the two countries. Thus the Khwaja played a key role in establishing cultural relations of the Bahmanids with the major Islamic countries.

The *Riyaz-ul-Insha* contains eight letters addressed to the ministers of Gilan and one to that of Turkey.

Six letters to the ministers of Gilan deals mostly with problem and welfare of his son Ubaidullah and other relatives and highlights the good reputation of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's

family at Gilan etc. he request the minister to look after the welfare of his son.

Confident of his influence at the Royal court at Gilan the Khwaja Mahmud Gawan took the liberty of corresponding with members of the Royal family. The Riyaz-ul-Insha contains eight letters addressed to the Prince, Princess and mother Queen of Gilan.

The twenty three letters addressed to various countries reveal the wide range of literary associations which Khwaja Mahmud Gawan formed, developed and maintained during his life. His letters were mostly to high ranking personalities and they reveal the deep interest of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan in the literary activities and developments in various Islamic countries.

The eminent literary personalities with whom Khwaja corresponded were : Sadruddin Rawasi, Abdur Rahman Jami of Khurasan, Qazi Sharafuddin Yezdi of Gilan, Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, Sayed Mahdi Tabrezi, Jalaluddin Dawwami, Shamsuddin Lari, Kamaluddin Rumi of Turkey, Abu Bakr of Tehran, Sayed Ibrahim of Jurjan, Shaikh Bayazid, Nooruddin and a few other men of piety and learnings.

Khwaja Mahmud Gawan also maintained close contacts with the famous saint of the Naqshbandi order, Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. In a letter Mahmud Gawan expressed himself

as a disciple of the saint. He extends invitation to Ubaidullah to come to Deccan and says that his 'eyes are very impatiently waiting' to see him. He says that there is no one in this country who can equal the great knowledge and ability of Khwaja Ubaidullah. Finally he concludes his forceful persuasion by saying that his coming would lighten the day and prays for a long and prosperous life for the saint.

There are about a dozen letters written by the Khwaja Mahmud Gawan to close relatives in Gilan and Mecca. Through these letters to his elder brother Shihabuddin, (who later on became *Wazir* of Gilan), his own son Abdullah in Gilan, his nephew Imad-ul-Mulk and Burhanuddin in Mecca, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was able to keep himself informed not only of development in his native place of Gilan but also in other neighboring Islamic countries. Some of the information which Khwaja Mahmud Gawan could not write or get from officials of other countries, he could obtain from his relatives abroad. The nephews of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan in Mecca were in communication with their relatives in Gilan etc. and they in turn furnished details of the misconduct of his son Abdullah who was under the patronage of the Sultans of Gilan. On the basis of the information from Mecca Khwaja Mahmud Gawan approached Sultan of Gilan and other officials and members of the Royal

family to save his son. Thus the relatives of the Khwaja Mahmud Gawan were a link in maintaining the cultural relations between Islamic countries and the Deccan<sup>110</sup>.

#### **4. Art and Architecture:**

Thes works of Mahmud Gawan stand out as a brilliant example of what a single individual with his own unaided resources could achieve. He was imbued with a spirit of such great self-sacrifice as is rarely met within a man. His income was very large, “equaling those of many Sultans,” but his beneficence was so great that after his death only a small sum was left in his treasury. He lived the life of an ascetic, sleeping on a bare mat and using earthen utensils, thus combining simple living with high thinking.

Mahmud Gawan was rich due to his adventures in international trade, but spent his entire earnings on the promotion of education. In 1472 A.D, he established a *Madrasah* in Bidar, then the capital of the Bahmanis. The *Madrasah* consisted of an imposing 3 storey building with 100 feet tall minarets in 4 corners. There were 36 rooms for students and 6 suites for the teaching staff. The building also had large lecture halls, a prayer hall and a matchless library of 3000 volumes.

Mahmud Gawan himself had a personal library of more than a 5000 books. He spent all his leisure time in the library.

The *Madrasah* building had a large courtyard with nearly a 1000 cubicles, where students learned men came from all parts of the country to stay. Boarding and lodging were free. There were 118 students on a permanent basis and countless itinerant scholars. Mahmud Gawan was familiar with renowned colleges at Samarqand and Khurasan in Iran and his own college or *Madrasah* was modeled after west Asian architecture.

### **Jami Mosque:**

The college had a mosque attached to it in order that religion might go hand in hand with secular learning.

According to Meadows Taylor “*The noble college of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan in the city of Bidar was perhaps the grandest completed work of the period. It consisted of a spacious square with arches all round it, of two storeys, divided into convenient rooms. The minarets at each corner of the front were upwards of 100 feet high, and also the front itself, covered with enamel tiles, on which were flowers on blue, yellow and red grounds and sentences of the Holy Quran in large kufic letters, the effect of which was at once chaste and superb*”.

### **Mahmud Gawan's Relations with Foreign Countries:**

It was in a large measure due to the versatility and literary aptitude of Mahmud Gawan as well as to his love of learning that the Deccan came in for the closest cultural contact with the outside world. It has already been related how the tradition of welcoming the learned from foreign lands had been in existence from the Gulbarga period of the Sultanate, and Mahmud Gawan's policy in this respect was in fact the direct corollary of the policy of Firoz Shah and his successors<sup>111</sup>. What Mahmud Gawan did was to intensify these cultural contacts more than ever before. He himself was a scholar of some inherit, and by his great treasure of vocabulary, wit and knowledge, he was widely recognized as one of the most prominent Persian writers of the period. By the power of his pen he left no stone unturned to make the Deccan known in other countries, and the collection of his letters, the *Riyz-u'l-Insha*, testifies to his sincerity and eagerness in this direction<sup>112</sup>.

Among those with whom the Khwajah was in constant communication and the closest touch was Maulana Nuru'd-din 'Abdu'r Rahman Jami, who was kept informed of the progress of Bahmani arms, and when the Khwajah heard that he was thinking of going on a pilgrimage to Mecca he begged him to come to the Deccan enroute. We find him writing to the

celebrated biographer Sharafu'd-din 'All al-Yazdi, the Sufi saint Khwaja 'Ubaidu'l-lah el-Ahrar, Jalau'd-din Dawani and a number of others well-known in the realm of knowledge. We so find the Deccan making liberal provision for the 'Ulama of Turkey and Iran<sup>113</sup>.

Mahmud Gawan was also in constant communication with the most renowned in the field of Islamic politics and did all he could to raise the land he had made his own in the estimation of his contemporaries. We have communications which passed between him and Muhammad Shah Bahmani on the one hand and Muhammad II, conqueror of Constantinople, on the other where homage is paid to the great Sultan as the Khalifa of Islam and an attempt made to build a relationship between the lands of Deccan and Turkey on a firm foundation<sup>114</sup>. What is perhaps even more remarkable is the arrival of an accredited envoy of Muhammad the Conqueror in the Deccan possibly carrying the only letter we possess from the Ottoman Sultan to his namesake king of the Deccan. Besides the Sultan of Turkey he was also writing to the Sultans of Gilan, 'Iraq and Egypt as well as to the rulers and ministers of Gujarat, Jaunpur and Malwa, and there is not one letter written by Mahmud Gawan on his own behalf or on behalf of his master in which he does not extol the greatness might or learning of his adopted country or the dynasty which he



deemed it an honour to serve<sup>115</sup>. Maulana Jami, himself “the acknowledged leader of the learned of the epoch” was greatly impressed by the place which the Deccan had acquired and says in an ode in praise of Mahmud Gawan that his presence in the land had made it “the envy of Rum itself”<sup>116</sup>.

### **Last Days of Sultan and Muhammad Gawan:**

As has been mentioned above, the party inimical to Khwajah Mahmud Gawan hated the administrative reforms which had recently been promulgated by him, and although he knew that he was playing with fire he also knew that whatever he did was for the greater good of the kingdom and would contribute to its further strength and efficiency. This party had all along been poisoning the king’s mind<sup>117</sup>. There was one in the royal entourage, Yusuf ‘Adil, who was like a son to the Khwajah and who always informed him of any untoward happening in the court, but he had this time gone southward along with the Sultan while the Khwajah had remained at Nellore with Crown Prince. A conspiracy was, however, being hatched at Kondapalli, the prime movers of which were Zarifu’l-Mulk Dakhni and Miftah Habashi, both of whom the Khwajah had promoted but were now in deadly enmity with him<sup>118</sup>. As they perceived that the Habashi secretary, who kept the Khwajah’s private seal, was the person

who might most easily be duped, they loaded him with costly presents, jewellery, horses etc. One evening when the Habashi was out of his senses owing to over indulgence in drink they showed him a folded blank sheet saying that it was a petition for the reprieve of an friend containing the seals of a number of ministers and high official, and all they wanted was that he should affix the Khwajah's seal as well<sup>118</sup>. When the seal had been affixed, the two plotters waited till Nizam'l-Mulk return, when three forged a letter purporting to be from the Khwajah to Purushottam of Orissa inviting him to invade the Deccan. The gist of the letter was as follows:

“Although I have been brought up on the salt of my royal, still if you swear over all that you hold sacred according to your own religious belief, that you would agree to partition the Deccan between you and myself, I would promise to help you to the best of my ability. As all authorial, financial and civil, rests with me and I have full control over matters of policy as well as those relating to the army, you can well understand that there is nothing which is outside my purview and I can do what I like in order to fulfill our joint purpose”<sup>119</sup>.

It was arranged that this forged letter should be produced before Muhammad Shah on his return, by Zarifu'l-Mulk and Miftah when Nizamu'l Mulk was present at the court. The Sultan

was full of indignation and felt that the reports which had been dinned into his ears so long were corroborated by the document. He therefore made up his mind to do away with the Khwajah once for all and immediately summoned him. His friends had somehow or other got an inkling of what was in Muhammad's mind and tried to dissuade him from going in the royal presence at least that day begging him to make some kind of personal excuse, but he insisted on honouring the royal summons saying that his beard had grown gray in the service of His Majesty's father, the late Humayun Shah, and it was well that it should be coloured red in the reign of his present master<sup>120</sup>. Some of his friends even suggested that he should fly over the Gujarat border where he was sure to be well received, to which he retorted that he was no criminal and as his conscience was perfectly clear that he had done nothing either against the king or his adopted country, there was no reason why he should fly away<sup>121</sup>.

When the Khwajah arrived in the royal presence the Sultan asked what punishment he proposed for a servant who was a traitor to his liege lord, to which the Khwajah immediately replied that the punishment of such a one could only be death. The king now showed him the script and his seal affixed to it. The Khwajah answered in all humility that there was no doubt that the seal was his own but he know absolutely nothing about

the script, and repeated the Qur'anic verse<sup>122</sup> The King left the room ordering his slave, Jauhar, to finish the deed. As he was leaving, the condemned man respectfully warned him that the murder of an old man like himself might not be difficult, but (perhaps musing on the consequences of the loss of the political equilibrium which was bound to take place when one particular party got all the power after his removal from the scene) it might lead to disorder in the realm and the loss of royal prestige itself. Muhammad Shah, drunk as he was left without paying any attention to these but too prophetic remarks, and Jauhar now faced the aged Khwajah with his glittering sword. The old man immediately knelt down praising the Almighty for thus granting him the great boon of martyrdom, and as the slave raised his sword to strike him he repeated the Islamic creed and the worst was done<sup>123</sup>.

This was on 5.2,886/5.4.1481 when the Khwaja was 73. It is extraordinary that the dead man had, in a way, predicted the exact manner of his death in a qasidah composed in praise of his master a short time before his death in which he had said that no one should fear the sword of the king, for it had become even as the life-giving nectar when it touched some one's neck. A number of chronograms were later composed of the death of Mahmud Gawan, the best known being by Sami Begunah

Mahmud Gawan Shad Shaheed “the guiltless Madmud Gawan suffered martyrdom”.

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## **CHAPTER – VI**

### **OTHER GREAT PERSONALITIES**

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#### **Abul Fateh Nasiruddin Ismail Shah:**

The Deccani Amirs of Muhammad bin Tughluq's were very intelligent to choosing of a leader for them as Sultan. They

Selection of Ismail Mukh was made after considerable deliberation. He was a senior most Amir of the Deogir in the charge of 2000 villages and also with him was his brother Malik Al-Afghan, who was a one of the greatest nobles of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and was then commanding the royal armies in Malwa. It is said that when the crown was offered to Ismail Mukh, he at first refused declaring that Zafar Khan (Alauddin Hasan) should be raised to the throne as apart from his widespread jagirs, he was of the progeny of Bahman himself, it was only because Alauddin Hasan might be wanted elsewhere and the enemy might have to be faced immediately, that Ismail Mukh was made Sultan. Ismail Mukh ascended the throne he gave Nooruddin the title of Khwajah-i-Jahan and bestowed on Alauddin Hasan the titles of Zafar Khan and Amir-ul-Umara.

After two months of Nasiruddin's accession, Khwajah-i-Jahan Nooruddin had to proceed to Gulbarga where a local chief, Kandhra by name, had put to death a number of Muslims,

including the Sufi Shaikh Zaman, Izzuddin Khwajah-i-Jahan besieged Kandhra in Gulbarga and defeated his forces.

After the rebel of Gujarat and the role of Zafar Khan made Ismail happy, Ismail Mukh soon realized the great popularity and status which Zafar Khan had acquired by his masterly tactics, and a fortnight after Zafar Khan's arrival, he called the Amirs together, he explained that he had kept the kingdom really in trust for Zafar Khan so long, and proclaimed his own abdication from the throne, taking the title of Shamshuddin for the rest of his life.

#### **Hazrat Shaikh Zainuddin Dawood:**

Hazrat Shaikh Zainuddin Dawood was born at Shiraz in Persian in 1302 A.D and arrived at Daulatabad in 1327 A.D. he was one of the greatest and most outspoken Sufis of the Deccan. Nasir Khan Farooqui named Zainabad in Khandesh province after him, he died on 1369 A.D and buried at Khuldabad.

Sultan Muhammad Shah-I had to face the rebellion in 1366 A.D of Bahram Khan Mazendarani who was a governor of Daulatabad. Bahram Khan conspired with the Maratha Kumbh Dev and certain other chieftains of Berar and Baglana, and taking possession of the tribute of the Maratha provinces rose against the Sultan. The Royal troops attacked on the Bahram

Khan, then he and Kumbh Dev stole out and went straight to Hazrat Shaikh Zainuddin who advised them to flee to Gujarat at once.

The sultan was much annoyed as before the culprits could be caught they had already crossed the Gujarat frontier, and remembered that it was Shaikh Zainuddin who had absented himself from attending the court when all the holy men had been called to pay homage to the sultan when he had ascended the throne. The Shaikh then made his excuse by saying that as the Sultan indulged in wine and other things forbidden by the Law it was impossible for him to accept such a person as his sovereign, and had further admonished him that it was necessary for a Muslim Sultan to act according to the example of the Apostle of Islam. The Sultan now insisted that the Shaikh should pay homage to him either in person or in writing. On receiving this message the Shaikh related the story of a Sayed, a learned man, and a sinner who were captured by idolaters and ordered to make obeisance before an idol otherwise they would be beheaded. The Sayed and the other learned men duly made obeisance while slowly reciting the verses of laudation from the Holy Quran, while the sinner said that his colleagues were pious men, he himself had nothing to show God and preferred rather to be beheaded than bow before inanimate objects. The Shaikh

remarked that while others were like the first two, he was like the sinner and preferred to suffer rather than present himself before a Sultan. The Sultan thereupon ordered his immediate withdrawal from the city of Daulatabad, on which he put his praying mat on his shoulders, retired to Shaikh BURhanuddin Gharib's tomb and sitting at the foot of the grave challenged if there was any one who could remove him from that place. The Sultan now saw that he had to face a person of an extraordinary character and sent Sadrus-sharif with a message of good will to him. The Shaikh replied that if the Sultan left off drinking at least in others presence, closed all the wine shops of the Sultanate, acted as his late father had acted all his life and issued orders to all the officers to act according to the precepts of morality as laid down by Islam, "he would find no one as great as friend as that faqir, Zainuddin". The Sultan accepted these pleas and the two became consoled after all. Leaving Masnad-i-Ali in charge of Maharashtra the sultan now left for Gulbarga.

### **Shaikh Muhammad Ruknuddin Junaidi:**

Shaikh Muhammad Ruknuddin was a son of Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sirajuddin Junaidi was thirteenth and twelfth in the line, of family and spiritual descents, respectively, from Abul Turk-al-Junaid. Besides 'Aynuddin Ganj-al-Ilm, he

apparently was the only Deccani Sufi to have a direct family lineage to the founder of this order. His father, Abu al-Muzaffar, was a resident of Baghdad who eventually moved to India and settled at Peshawar. Muhammad Ruknuddin was born at Peshawar and, according to hagiographical information; he led a prosperous life as his uncle was the governor of Peshawar. However, Ruknuddin decided to renounce the life of luxury and honour and moved, in 1328 A.D, to Daulatabad which by then had assumed great fame as an urban centre of Muslim elite as well as men of scholarship on reaching Daulatabad, Ruknuddin became the disciple of Sayed 'Alauddin Khondmir Jeweri and also enjoyed the company of Shaikh Minhajuddin Tamimi Ansari and Aynuddin Ganj-al-Ilm. He later moved to Kudchi on the instructions of his preceptor, obviously before the demise of his master in 1333 A.D Mir Rafiuddin Shirazi in his chronicle entitled "Tazkirat-ul-Mulk" informs us that at Kudchi, Alauddin Hasan Bahmani, the future founder of the Bahmani kingdom, and his mother become his disciples. The saint is reported to have predicted kingship for Alauddin Hasan. The latter on assuming kingship bestowed the *Jagir* of Kudchi in Belgaum district to Shaikh Ruknuddin.<sup>27</sup> The saint moved to Gulbarga, the Bahmani capital, during the reign of Muhammad Shah-I (1358-1375 A.D) and died there in 1380 A.D. His mausoleum,



which now stands on the Gulbarga-Aland highway, is known as Rauza-i-Shaikh and is held in high esteem by the people of the Deccan.

### **Shaikh Muhammad Sirajuddin Junaidi:**

Muhammad Shah-I succeeded by his son Alauddin Mujahid on 17<sup>th</sup> October 777 A.H corresponding to 21<sup>st</sup> March 1375 A.D. He was then nineteen years of age. On his accession Shaikh Muhammad Sirajuddin Junaidi the Sufi Saint sent his own shirt and turban which he wore on the occasion. He thus had the support of the divine of the day. He was instructed in all the arts of peace and war. He had an excellent command of Turkish and Persian languages. He was a soldier and a good swordsman and archer and adept in riding.

### **Sayed Zainuddin Dawood Shirazi Daulatabadi:**

He was well known Khalifa of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib (1302-1369) was a man of strict principles. Trained both in exoteric and esoteric sciences, he strictly adhered to the principles of his order. Zainuddin Daulatabadi was the earliest Chishti saint of the Bahmani period. A contemporary of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah and his successor Muhammad Shah-I, he exercised a great influence on the Bahmani society and the

rulers of the Bahmani and Faruqi kingdoms of the Deccan, Sayed Zainuddin, because of his independence of spirit and courage of conviction, forced the Bahmani ruler Muhammad Shah-I to enforce the *Shariah*. The Shaikh even refused to attend the coronation of the king deliberately, as he was critical of Sultan's drinking habits and his indifference to the moral and ethical principles of Islam.

The sayings of the Shaikh were compiled by Amir Hasan under the title "*Hidayat-ul-Qulub*". Some of his leading disciples established Khanquas at different places in the Deccan. Sayed Yaqub, who was a Khalifa of Shaikh Zainuddin, setup a Khanqua at Naharwala in Gujarat which is where he died in 1397 A.D.

### **Shah Nimatullah Kirmani:**

His full name was Amir Nur Al-Haq wad-Din Nimatullah Shah Kirmani (1330-1430). According to his own statement, his father, Mir Abdullah, was a descendent of the fifth Shi'ite Imam, Imam Baqir. Born At Halab (Aleppo) in 1330, he grew up in Iraq and went to Mecca where he lived for seven years. He became a disciple and Khalifa of Shaikh Abdullah Yafi, who traced his mystical lineage to Abu Madyan of Egyptian Branch. He then moved to Samarqand, Heart and Yazd, eventually settling down

in Mahan near Kirman, attracting a huge number of devotees around him. He died at an advanced age in 1430 at Mahan. *Majmua dar Tarjuma-i-Ahwal-i-Shah Nimaullah Wali* contains a long list of the works written by the saint. According to C. Rieu, besides his *Diwan*, he left a collection of Sufi tracts, the number of which is said to exceed five hundred.

Inam-ul-Haq, while discussing the introduction of the Qadri order in the Indian subcontinent, mentions the name of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani. It is certain that Shah Nimatullah Kirmani refused to come to the Deccan on the invitation extended by Ahmed Shah Wali Bahmani. However, his grandsons and later, his son came to Bider and settle there.

### **Shah Nurullah Kirmani:**

Ahmed Shah Wali Bahmani deputed two holy men to Mahan extending an invitation to Shah Nimatullah Kirmani to come over the Deccan to bless his capital. The deputation was headed by Nizamuddin Faruqi alias Shaikh Khojan, a resident of Gulbarga, who was himself a member of the Nimatullahi order. Though the saint did not agree to leave Mahan, the delegation return, was received near Gulbarga. The result of the first deputation did not satisfy Ahmed Shah; he therefore, sent another delegation which also fetched limited results. Shah

Nimatullah Kirmani, however, sent his grandson Shah Nurullah Kirmani to Bider. Shah Nurullah Kirmani was received outside Bider by Ahmed Shah in person, and his place was named as Nimatabad after the great saint. Shah Nurullah was immediately raised to the status of *Malik-ul-Mashaikh*, giving him precedents over the families of Deccani Sufis. Soon he was married to the daughter of Ahmed Shah Wali Bahmani.

### **Shah Khalilullah Kirmani:**

After the death of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani he appointed his son Shah Khalilullah Kirmani, then fifty nine, as the *Qutub* of the order. Shah Khalilullah, after remaining in Mahan for a few years, went to Heart on the invitation of Shah Rukh the son of Amir Taimur.

Shah Khalilullah Kirmani along with his other two sons, Shah Muhibuddin Habibullah and Shah Habibuddin Muhibullah, moved to the Deccan and settled at Bider. His two sons were married in to the Bahmani royal family and Muhibuddin Habibullah was given the Jagir of Bir and raised to the status of Mansabdar. For his military ability, he was given the title of *Ghazi*. The family played an important role in the Bahmani politics.

Shah Khalilullah Kirmani died at Bider in 1455, before his death, he had nominated Shah Habibuddin Muhibullah as his successor and *Qutub* of the order. Shah Habibuddin, who was the youngest of Shah Khalilullah's son's was born at Mahan in 1426. Despite the honour in which he was held at the Bahmani court, he lived a simple life in Khanqua which he had built at Bir. He died at the age of seventy eight in 1502 at Bider and was buried at the Khaliliyan, the family mausoleum, close to his father on the Bider-Ashtoor road.

### **Shaikh Aynuddin Bijapuri:**

Sayed Aynuddin Muhammad Junaidi Balhawi, popularly known as Ganj Al-Ilm (The treasury of knowledge) was a one of the prominent Khalifa of Syed Alauddin Jeweri. Sayed Aynuddin was definitely the first intellectual Sufi of India and the only Junaidi Sufi to have written one hundred and twenty five works in various subjects like;

- Quranic commentary
- Art of Quranic recitation
- Hadith
- Kalam
- Ilm al-Usul
- Fiqh

- Suluk
- Nahw
- Sarf
- Lughat
- Nasab
- Hikmat
- History

The diversity of subjects the dealt with in his works reveals that he was a man of knowledge and scholarship. Sayed Aynuddin was twelfth in line of spiritual descent from Abul Qasim Al-Junaid, and thirteenth in line of family lineage from the founder of the order. He was born in Naw or Nau, later named as Jhain, a suburb east of Delhi. The Tughluq capital by then had assumed great significance and had attracted innumerable scholars, Ulema. Sufis, administrators and artisans from Baghdad and other Middle Eastern centers of learning as conditions in that part of the world were deteriorating due to Mangol onslaught.

Sayed Aynuddin Ganj Al-Ilm came in contact with Sayed Jeweri probably at Delhi. After his initiation into the Junaidi order he engaged himself vigorously in the acquisition of knowledge. For about ten years, he learned Quran, calligraphy

and Arabic syntax under Shaikh Minhajuddin Tamimi Ansari at Kantoor and also took lessons from Imam Ismail and his son, Imam Ibrahim at Kasa, east of Delhi.

Shaikh Aynuddin Ganj Al-Ilm was a contemporary of the first five Bahmani sultans. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom, upon coming to Sagar in 1352 to quell the insurrection of Muhammad bin Alam Lachin and Fakhruddin Muhardar, invited the Ulema and divines, including Shaikh Aynuddin Ganj Al-Ilm and Moulana Muinoddin harwi, the teacher of Prince Muhammad-I, and bestowed gifts and presents upon them.

Sayed Aynuddin Ganj Al-Ilm had seven sons and eight daughters, five of his sons died in infancy, Shaikh Alauddin Ali Abu Al-Hasan became his spiritual successor. Sayed Aynuddiin had a large following. At Bijapur and later at Sagar, he attracted a large number of students, disciples and Khulfa.

Some great other illuminaries during the times of Khwajah Mahmud Gawan, it is hardly necessary here to depict Mahmud Gawan as he appeared to his contemporaries, for we have already seen him as a general, as an administrator, as a minister, as a man of learning and as a private person<sup>1</sup>. There is, however, just one point which may be discussed here and that is whether Mahmud Gawan did not himself bring about the

downfall of the kingdom<sup>2</sup>. This theory, if it may be called one, is based on the eminence, which the Bahmani kingdom had attained during the Khwaja's ministry, followed by its sudden decline immediately after his death. Those who support this view forget the feelings of intense loyalty which the Khwaja always had for the Sultans of the Deccan from the time of Humayun for whom he wrote a beautiful laudatory qasidah of thirty-eight lines<sup>3</sup>, right up to Muhammad III whom he extolled a few weeks before the fatal sword struck his neck<sup>4</sup>, and for the regard he had for Humayun's consort who was his patroness and who considered him as her own brother. This loyalty to the throne and to his adopted country is shown time and again in the letters he wrote to friends at home and abroad and is also expressed by his words on the fateful day of his murder, all of which prove as nothing else would, his real feelings towards the Bahmani state. There is not one act of his right through the thirty odd years of his service in India which can be construed by one jot to prove that he was in any way disloyal or traitorous in his conduct<sup>5</sup>.

If this view is correct it may be asked what then was the reason of the disintegration of the kingdom immediately after the king's death if it was not some crack in the foundation of the state itself which the minister consciously or unconsciously left



over. The clue is found not in what he did but in what he failed to accomplish. We have seen how the policy of Firoz and Ahmad I was to encourage the influx of overseas men into the Deccan, and it soon became a major problem in the reign of the weak-minded 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II who moved the pendulum of State first towards the New-comers according to the tradition of his father, and then towards the Old comers, with the resulting massacre of whichever party lost the favour of the king. As a reaction to this vacillation which cost the kingdom so much in prestige, Humayun initiated the policy of a balance of power between the two groups, but his attempt was nipped in the bud and he was calumniated such as no other king had ever been before. His sagacious queen, and with her, Mahmud Gawan, continued that policy, and the whole political life of the minister was spent with that purpose in view.

After Khwajah Mahmud Gawan's death there was no one in the kingdom who wished to revert to his system, either for fear that he might also fall like him or else owing to the purely selfish reason of gaining ground for himself and his party. The political equilibrium which had been created was rudely upset and the new government became subservient to the interests of one party, with the result that the land fell back to a state of nature so far as the two political groups were concerned. Another

Mahmud Gawan might have stemmed the tide of egotism, intrigue and disorder, but as no such person of faith and integrity was forthcoming, the kingdom fell by the first blast of adverse wind like a house of cards.

The signs of the coming storm were soon manifest and this storm was in its turn to produce younger states which were to maintain the independence of a divided Deccan or another couple of centuries. Full of remorse for what he had perpetrated, Muhammad III wished to move on to Bidar as possible. On the day Prince Mahmud left Kondapalli for the capital with the late minister's coffin, news was brought that Fathu'l-Mulk and Khudawand Khan Habashi, commanders of the army of Berar and Mahur respectively, had moved to about four miles from the royal camp, and now they sent messages to the King—messages which were too ominously frank—that when a man like the Khawaja could be treacherously removed they were afraid lest a similar fate should befall them, and that they would not come to the King's presence till the arrival of Yusuf 'Adil from the south. Yusuf was thereupon immediately informed of this new development, but on his arrival at Kondapalli he also encamped near Fathu'l-lah and Khudawand Khan. These three were now strong enough to enforce their own conditions, and at their dictation the Sultan was made to award the tarafdari of Bijapur

to Yusuf 'Adil with Mallu Khan, Fakhru'l-Mulk, Darya Khan and others as his lieutenants, while 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Khudawand Khan were confirmed in their own provinces. At the same time the King continued to shower favours on Nizamu'l-Mulk who was made Prime Minister with the offices of Wakil and Peshwa, and his friends and associates, Qiwamu'l-Mulk the Elder and Qiwamu'l-Mulk the Younger were given the governments of Rajahmundri and Warangal. When the Sultan at last proceeded to Bidar, Yusuf 'Adil, 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Khudawand Khan followed him, but instead of entering the capital they pitched their camps outside the walls of the city and after staying there a few days left for their respective charges<sup>6</sup>.

On his arrival at Bidar, the Sultan dreamt that he saw the Khwaja's mother begging the Apostle of Islam to punish him for the murder of his innocent son and the Apostle ordering the Sultan's immediate execution. The Sultan woke up in a terrified state and knew that his days were numbered. Six months passed and, still full of anguish, he intimated that he wished to tour the western provinces ordering 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Khudawand Khan to accompany him. The two complied with these orders but took care to keep at a safe distance from the royal cavalcade and only saluted him when he appeared in public<sup>7</sup>. When the royal party reached Belgaum news arrived

that Virupaksha of Vijayanagara was sending an army to take Goa. Strange though it may seem, the king, who had proved his mettle in so many battlefields refused to proceed any further and returned instead to Firozabad ordering Yusuf 'Adil to relieve Goa with the help of an army composed of both Dakhnis and Afaquis. Imadu'l-Mulk and Khudawand Khan did not accompany the King but returned to their own provincial capitals<sup>8</sup>.

Muhammad Shah, though still young, aware that matters were not progressing in the right direction in the kingdom. On the other hand it was evident that the shock which his own person had experienced was very great. So in order to obviate the possibility of disorder after him, he issued a royal edict formally appointing his son Mahmud as the heir to the Kingdom and got it signed by the members of the aristocracy as well as by the representatives of learning. Since he knew that he had not long to live he tried to drown his anxieties in excessive drink and immoderate habits. Strange as it may seem, he died exactly one lunar year after the murder of Mahmud Gawan on 1482 at the early age of twenty-nine lunar years<sup>9</sup>.

Muhammad's reign is one of the tragedies in the history of the Deccan. It saw the greatest triumphs of Khwaja-i-Jahan Mahmud Gawan, and so long as this minister had control over the affairs of the kingdom the Bahmani state attained heights of

prosperity which it had never reached before. But with the death of the Dowager Queen, the king's weak temperament was seen in all its gloomy aspects, and the martyrdom of his erstwhile preceptor was the result. It has already been noted that the reign saw the continuation of a policy of equilibrium between the two great political groups of the state and this, coupled with the minister's murder, led to remarkable consequences. Mahmud Gawan was succeeded by Nizamu'l-Mulk and although his party had now the monopoly of power, still the danger to life and honour loomed large and he felt it incumbent to ally himself with some of his erstwhile opponents<sup>10</sup>. We also see 'Imadu'l-Mulk, a dakhni and Khudawand Khan, a habashi making common cause with Yusuf 'Adil an Afaquis, and a joint army consisting both of Newcomers and Old comers were being sent against the Raya of Vijayanagara. We also see Fakhru'l-Mulk a dakhni, preferring to go to Bijapur along with Yusuf 'Adil. This alliance of the two great political groups was probably the dream of the late minister which he was not permitted to see realized in his life time<sup>11</sup>.

Unfortunately, however, there was no one left in the kingdom who could control these new forces and lead them towards a constructive end for the strength and betterment of the state; and all who had any foresight saw that the kingdom

was on the brink of an abyss. It was known that the King was fast ending his own life in debauchery and drink and his heir was more or less of the same age as he himself had been when he had ascended the throne. In his own infancy the state had been ruled by three of the most stalwart personages of the Deccan, while now, with Muhammad's approaching end matters were sure to deteriorate in spite of the care which he had taken to get his heir accepted by all in his own lifetime. There was no one to keep the centrifugal forces in check which were fast at work to get the better of the tottering empire. Patriotism and loyalty there were none, and the weakness of the centre and strong unscrupulous counter forces led only one way, towards dissolution of the Empire into petty states<sup>12</sup>.

The long reign of Shihabu'd-din Mahmud Shah Bahmani, which extended to more than a quarter of a century, was a period of gradual weakening of the state ending in the disruption of the splendid edifice which had been built up by the earlier Bahmanis at Gulbarga and then by a series of capable rulers and ministers at Bidar<sup>13</sup>. It was perhaps owing to a certain premonition of what was to come that the late Sultan had appointed Mahmud heir to the throne and made the nobles and high officials swear allegiance in his own lifetime, but this was of no avail. With an utter lack of leadership at Bidar, especially

after Nizamu'l-Mulk's murder and they want of patriotism and sense of integrity among the people, the kingdom soon collapsed through the impact of decentralizing tendencies which began to eat into the roots of the state. It is strange that, while there was no dearth of capable men in the Deccan, hardly one of them had the real interest of the state at heart; while on the other hand, they were actually digging out the very foundations of the structure. In the beginning they tried to get the control of the Sultan, but as there were too many of them and each was an equal match for the other, they left Mahmud Shah with just a few acres round the capital and carved out large principalities for themselves<sup>14</sup>. It is, however, hard to break a deep-rooted tradition, and not one of them, the man who had full personal control of the Sultan, dared to dethrone the puppet, and wherever the Sultan went he was received with ample respect. It was due to this strange position that we come across a number of rather queer situations during the reign<sup>15</sup>.

It fell to the lot of Mahmud to become King when he was only twelve years of age at a time when one of the parties, the Newcomers, had been overthrown, and the Old comers were in the ascendant in the person of the new regent, Malik Na'ib Hasan Nizamu'l-Mulk Bahri. He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne with the usual ceremonial with Shah Habibu'l-lah and

Syed Habib on either side<sup>16</sup>. The two divines were given chairs and prayed for the long life and prosperity of the boy-sovereign. He was then saluted by the nobles present led by Malik Na'ib, Qiwamu'l-Mulk the elder and Qiwamu'l-Mulk the younger, as also by one of the Turk, who had now cast his lot with the party in power. It was remarked that a large number of officials and nobles such as Yusuf 'Adil Khan, Darya Khan, Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Mallu Khan son of Turk Beg Safshikan, were not present on this auspicious occasion, and it was no doubt due to the great importance attached to these high personages that Malik Naib passed orders that when they arrived at Bidar there would be a reenacting of the enthronement ceremonial by the King<sup>17</sup>.

As has already been stated, Yusuf 'Adil, had been sent against Virupaksha of Vijayanagara who had left everything in the hands of his Minister Saluva Narasimha. On hearing that Muhammad III was dead, he hurried to the capital accompanied by Mallu Khan, Darya Khan, Fakhru'l-Mulk and others escorted by a thousand Mughal and Turkish youth. At this Nizamu'l-Mulk sent 'Adil Khan Dakhni to Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk who was then at Warangal, with a message from the King to hurry to the court in order to forestall Yusuf Khan<sup>18</sup>. When he arrived in the city he left most of his entourage, but perhaps fearing an armed



encounter, preceded to the fort to pay homage to the King accompanied by two hundred fully armed bodyguards. Malik Naib was equal to the occasion and on his part brought five hundred armed followers into the palace fortress. The quaint procession was led by himself and the Turk who was followed by Yusuf 'Adil and his men<sup>19</sup>. The cavalcade streamed into the Takht Mahal where precedence was given to Yusuf 'Adil over Nizamu'l-Mulk, after whom came Darya Khan and then Malik Ahmad, who had been appointed Governor of Junnar and Chakan, and others present. It was the occasion for the measuring of mutual strength by Nizamu'l-Mulk and Yusuf 'Adil, and thanks to the practical tact of these two men, everything passed off peacefully. After robes of honour had been conferred on them by the King they were seen to leave the palace hand in hand<sup>20</sup>.

Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk were encamped outside the city, and the day after these ceremonies Nizamu'l-Mulk paid a call on him and requested him to come into the city and live there as a good friend helping him to carry on the administration. Yusuf was most courteous, but being aware of his own strength, he replied that he was essentially a military man and that, since he did not know much Civil Government and affairs of the State he thought he had better not

interfere in day-to-day administration<sup>21</sup>. There was, however, no love lost between the two leaders and it seems that Nizamu'l-Mulk was already planning that Yusuf should be removed altogether and be replaced by 'Adil Khan Dakhni in the governorate of Bijapur. He made the King issue an order that he would review the provincial levies before they left for their homes, and while he was sitting on a battlement of the fortress he called 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Yusuf 'Adil Khan to him and told them that he was by no means pleased with their Turkish entourage as they were always restive. After this he ordered 'Adil Khan Dakhni to put an end to the Turkish population forthwith. The gates of the City were locked and bolted and the massacre of the Turks began. It is estimated that as many as four thousand were killed in cold blood, and it was only on the intercession of some pious men that the butchery was stopped<sup>22</sup>. Yusuf 'Adil now fully realized that Bidar was not the place for him and he left for Bijapur leaving Nizamu'l-Mulk in full control.

The slaughter was followed by a triumvirate after the fashion of that which had charged of the administration in the time of Mahmud Shah's father, the personalities now being Nizamu'l-Mulk, Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk appointed Wazir and Amir-I Jumla and the Queen Mother, who became the president of the Council of Regency and adviser in matters of state. The

first act of the new council was to make the Turk, entitled Baridu'l-Mamalik, who had helped Nizamu'l-Mulk to massacre his own kith and kin, Kotwal, while 'Imadu'l-Mulk's son 'Alau'd-din was made his deputy in the governorate of Berar and Fakhru'l-Mulk the younger made Khwaja-I Jahan<sup>23</sup>.

This arrangement went on quite successfully and almost without a hitch for four years, but when the Sultan became sixteen in 1486 he began to lead his ears to unscrupulous adventurers, of whom there must have been many in those unsettled days, and actually began to plot against the Chief Minister<sup>24</sup>. One of them was Dilawar Khan Habashi who told the boy-King that he was being neglected by the trio, and the king was so incensed that he ordered Dilawar to put an end both to Nizamu'l-Mulk and 'Imadu'l-Mulk; but the plot failed and the King had to apologize to these two and in turn permitted them to kill Dilawar outright ! Dilawar also seems to have escaped somehow, for we soon see him siding with the King against the Turk. The episode, however, resulted in the break-up of the triumvirate for, when 'Imadu'l-Mulk saw that there was danger in associating himself too closely with the Malik Na'ib he left for his own province of Berar never again to come back and take part in the politics of the capital<sup>25</sup>.

It is a strange coincidence that just as a campaign in Tilangana had brought about the end of Mahmud Gawan in the same way a Tilangana campaign sowed the seed of the conspiracy which ended the life of his arch enemy, Nizamu'l-Mulk. It was in 1486 that 'Adil Khan Dakhni, Governor of Warangal, died, at which Qiwamu'l-Mulk the younger marched from Rajahmundri and took possession of Warangal and the whole of Tilangana<sup>26</sup>. Nizamu'l-Mulk marched against him and forced him to retire. But his enemies took advantage of his absence and concocted all kinds of stories which were corroborated by Qiwamu'l-Mulk who sent petitions to Mahmud inculpating Malik Na'ib, At the capital itself the Habashi party had broken away from him, especially after his unsuccessful attempt to put an end to Dilawar's life, and they were now joined by his erstwhile friend the Turk and the Habashi leader, Dastur Dinar (of whom more will be heard presently), and succeeded in getting a royal Farman that the Minister be done to death. Nizamu'l-Mulk, who was in the king's camp, got the wind of the affair and relying on his friend, Dil pasand Khan, one of the nobles of Bidar, fled to the capital and sent immediate word to his son at Junnar to hurry back with his army while he himself got hold of as much wealth as possible out of the royal treasury<sup>27</sup>. On hearing of the situation, the King appointed

Qutbu'l-Mulk Dakhni, Governor of Tilangana and himself took the road to Bidar. But the nemesis had already overtaken Nizamu'l-Mulk, for his own friend Dil pasand strangled him and cutting off the old man's head presented it to the King on his arrival at Bidar<sup>28</sup>.

The King was greatly pleased at the turn of events and considered the murder of Nizamu'l-Mulk as an act of deliverance. He began to indulge in wine, women and song and spent so much money on his luxuries that he had to extract many jewels from the Turquoise Throne, to fix them on to his wine decanter and cup. He now seems to have turned entirely towards the Afaqi group and married his two sisters in the family of Shah Habibu'l-lah<sup>29</sup>.

All this could not fail to have a reaction on the population of Bidar especially when the feelings against the Sultan were being fomented by leaders of factional politics in the capital. In 1487 the aggrieved Dakhnis again allied with the Habashis and conspired to put an end to the life of the Sultan himself<sup>30</sup>. The conspiracy smoldered on for many months and on 1487 the populace entered the Fort, locking it from within so that it might be impossible for those outside, especially the Newcomers, to enter the Palace and protect the King. The King was busy in drinking bouts attended by Aziz Khan Turk, Hasan 'Ali Khan

Sabzwari, Syed Mirza Mashhadi and a host of pretty girls, when a thousand of the meanest members of the populace forced themselves to the King's presence<sup>31</sup>. When the King's attendants came between them and the royal person they were forthwith done to death. The King had to fly to Shah Burj where there was a free fight between the Newcomers and the rebels. In the meantime the news of revolt spread through the town and Jahangir Khan, Farhad Khan. The Turk, Sher Khan Ardistani, Kishwar Khan and others arrived with a detachment of 12,000 and scaled the battlements leading to Shah Burj by means of ropes, defeated the rebels in a hand-to-hand scuffle and forced them to fly to Nagina Mahal. The city itself was the scene of terrible carnage which lasted till moonrise, i.e., about 6 a.m. In the morning when the King had got the situation well in his grasp, he ordered that the Dakhnis should be killed wherever found and their property sequestered<sup>32</sup>. It is said that this massacre went on for three days and stopped only at the intercession of Shah Muhibbu'l-lah, who belonged himself to the party of the Newcomers.

The Sultan was mightily pleased at his own miraculous escape and ordered rejoicings which went on for forty days. He also ordered that a new palace should be built on the top of the Shah Burj which had proved to be so auspicious to him. Certain

sections of the populace were so much taken up by the revelry and drinking bouts which became the order of the day at the Palace that they themselves began to indulge in excessive pleasure resulting in an almost unprecedented looseness of morals and self-control<sup>33</sup>.

It was about this time that the various governors and jagirdars of the kingdom perceived the utter inertia which had set in at Bidar, and thinking that the downfall of the central power was at hand, began to assert their power. Perhaps the first to rise was the Turk as Baridu'l-Mamalik, who held Qandhar and Ossa as a jagir<sup>34</sup>. When Mahmud heard of this he sent Dilawar Khan against him with a large army. He was no match for the stalwart Dilawar and had to fly to Balkunda. Dilawar pursued him, and the Turk was within an ace of being defeated when a mad elephant rushed on Dilawar and killed him, turning defeat into victory. He now marched on the capital and forced Mahmud to make him Prime Minister of the kingdom<sup>35</sup>.

The Turk now attempted to rule the kingdom in the name of the King much as Mahmud Gawan and Nizamu'l-Mulk had done before him. But times had changed and perhaps he had neither the ability nor the circumspection which were needed for it, with the result that the nobles who held fiefs in different parts

of the country made common cause against him<sup>36</sup>. The confederate armies met the Turk's levies at Deoni between Bidar and Udgir and completely defeated them, he flying to his jagirs. It is related that the Sultan fell from his horse in the fray and was taken back to the capital by the nobles who treated him in a royal manner<sup>37</sup>.

### **Safdar Khan Sistani:**

Muhammad Shah-I when dividing his kingdom, Berar and Mahur were placed under Safdar Khan Sistani. During the war with Telangana Safdar Khan Sistani was in charge of a troops sent by Sultan he accompanied with Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur Khan, son of Ismail Mukh, Azam-i-Humayun and Safdar Khan Sistani along with the army of Berar and Bidar.

This battle was remarkable as it was the first time that cannon and fire-arms were freely used by the Bahmanis. The artillery was evidently in charge of "Turks and Franks," also called as *Rumiyan-i-Firangiyan* this being the first time that mention is made of Europeans serving on the soil of the Deccan, and the whole department was placed under Muqarrab Khan son of Safdar Khan Sistani. On reaching Adoni the Sultan ordered Safdar Khan Sistani to lay siege to the citadel. However, the role



of Safdar Khan Sistani was very interesting during the time of Bahmanis.

### **Malik Ahmed Nizam-ul-Mulk's Successes:**

One of the most powerful of these nobles was Malik Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk who was at his jagir, Junnar, at the time of his father Nizamu'l-Mulk's death. Some of the forts which were supposed to be included within his fiefs had been in the possession of the Marachas ever since Mahmud Gawan's time and had not paid their dues for five years and more, and even Shivneri, the fort commanding Junnar itself, seems to have been outside his pale<sup>38</sup>. An ambitious man like Malik Ahmad could not keep quiet, and he conquered all the Maharashtra forts which came in his way including the whole of Konkan. It was while besieging Dandarajpuri that he received the news of Nizamu'l-Mulk's murder, on which he adopted the title of Nizamu'l Mulk<sup>39</sup>. He advanced further and subjugated Mahur, Bir, and Shivgaon. The whole country as far as Godavari was brought under control, and soon Hindu and Muslim, Dakhni and Khurasani all began to respect and fear the new Nizamu'l-Mulk. At the end of the campaign Nizamu'l-Mulk came to Bidar, was received well by Sultan Mahmud and granted all the forts which he had conquered as jagir<sup>40</sup>.

These successes were not, however, to the liking of the party in power at the court, and at the Turkf's instance the King actually sent a Farman ordering Yusuf Adil to march to Junnar along with Khwaja-I Jahan Dakhni and Yusuf Talash of Chakan and put an end to Malik Ahmad<sup>41</sup>. Such moves were, however, of no avail, and instead of marching against Nizamu'l-Mulk, Yusuf Adil sent a messenger to Junnar to express his regrets on the death of his father and actually evacuated the fort of Indupur for him<sup>42</sup>. Nizamu'l-Mulk had rather a stiff opponent in the person of Nadiru'z-Zamani Shaikh Muwaddi the Arab, who marched on Junnar with twelve thousand horses. Seeing the danger Nizamu'l-Mulk sent his family to the fortress of Shivneri which he had recently conquered and rebuilt. And retreated a few miles from his headquarters and appointed Vasiru'l-Mulk Gujarati as Peshwa and Wakil. He then wheeled round, defeated Talash at Chakan, the stronghold of his possible enemy Zainu'd-din Ali, while Nasiru'l-Mulk came to grips with Shaikh Muwaddi and forced him to fly<sup>43</sup>. The Arab leader was, however, caught unawares by Nizamu'l-Mulk and was beheaded on the battlefield.

Malik Ahmad had now to face the court faction which was still in deadly opposition to him and which had persuaded the Sultan to send 'Azmatu'l-Mulk with a huge army against him. As

on previous occasion he proved too clever for his enemies, and avoiding them, circled round the mountainous country of Qadirabad heading straight for Bidar itself<sup>44</sup>. He could have made things difficult for the royal army that was left there, but desisted and contented himself in a secret understanding with the gatekeeper of the city wall, carrying off his own family to Junnar<sup>45</sup>. He then hurried to Parenda where he was met by the Sultan's-army under Jahangir Khan. On his approach Nizamu'l-Mulk moved to Patan and thence back to his own capital, Junnar. This was 891/1486. Thus Nizamu'l-Mulk had succeeded in extricating the members of his family from the grasp of his enemies at Bidar and had thus gives another proof of the utter incompetence of the factions at work at the capital<sup>46</sup>. The Sultan's army under 'Azmatu'l-Mulk, returned from the ghats at Qadirabad, met him at Bir and a truce was patched up. This was not to the liking of the court party and 'Azmat was replaced by Jahangir Khan who pursued him till he was brought face with Nasiru'l-Mulk at Patkapur<sup>47</sup>. On 1490 Nizamu'l-Mulk suddenly appeared from Jeur Ghat, fell on Jahangir Khan, and killed him in a battle which was fought in a grove, He captured many nobles who were commanding the Bahmani forces, made them ride on oxen and had them led to Bidar in that abject plight<sup>48</sup>. It was not long after that Nizamu'l-Mulk surrounded the

grove with a wall and built a beautiful palace making it the centre of his newly created capital which he named after himself, Ahmednagar<sup>49</sup>.

At the capital itself the Turk was not sitting idly merely gazing at others carving out principalities for themselves. In 1492 he got himself appointed Wakil or Prime Minister of the kingdom and the Sultan confirmed on him Qandhar, Ossa, Udgir and Kalyani as his fiefs<sup>50</sup>. He was not content with what he got, and notwithstanding royal orders he proceeded to subdue other forms of his own accord. As has been mentioned such was the helplessness of the Sultan, that it was Dilawar Khan Habashi who appeared from Burhanpur and forced the Turk to fly to Golkoda. Dilawar's stake became higher and higher every instant and if he had not been killed by a mad elephant at Kaulas he might have become the founder of a principality himself<sup>51</sup>. Turk now entered Bidar in triumph and made the King reappoint him Prime Minister.

His ambitions became now boundless and as he would see no one in any way equal to him in power and prestige, he actually did what not even the worst of the enemies of Deccan would have done, for he invited the Raya of Vijayanagara to occupy the much coveted cities of Raichur and Mudgal<sup>52</sup>. The Raya Timmadeva, was a minor, and the minister of state Narasa

Nayaka, sent a strong army against Yusuf 'Adil and occupying the two key-positions forced him to accept the loss. Yusuf 'Adil now advanced against The Turk, who secured the support of Nizamu'l-Mulk by offering him Goa, Konkan, Panhala and Kalhar which were then occupied by Bahadur Gilani. The Battle was joined five krohs from Bidar<sup>53</sup>. The Turk and the Sultan posted themselves in along with Fakhru'l-Mulk Dakhni and Nizamu'l-Mulk on either side and with The Turk's son in reserve, while they were opposed by Yusuf 'Adil in the centre flanked by Darva Khan and Fakhru'l-Mulk Turk<sup>54</sup>. The weakness of Turk was shown once again and the day ended in his complete rout resulting in the flight of the Sultan to the capital, while Yusuf 'Adil went back to Bijapur after concluding peace with Bahadur Gilani<sup>55</sup>. He was not content with this, and it was not long before he proceeded against the Vijayanagaris who had entrenched themselves in the Doab, fought a pitched battle with them on 1.7.898/18.4.1493 and captured Raichur and Mudgal. It is probable that these two towns were retaken in the name of the Bahmani Sultan, for we find Yusuf 'Adil sending costly presents including dresses made of cloth-of-gold and four horses with shoes made of gold and saddles studded with the same metal to the Sultan at Bidar<sup>56</sup>.

### **Bahadur Gilani's Rebellion:**

While all this was going on an unscrupulous and an intrepid person was attempting to carve out a principality on the western coast. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan had left Goa in his friend Nizamu'd-din Gilani's possession as deputy to Kishwar Khan who was acting for the Khwaja at Bijapur<sup>57</sup>. On Nizamu'd-din's death in 896/1491 the kotwal of Goa, Bahadur Gilani, and taken possession of the whole coast line right up to Dabul and occupied Klohapur, Kolhar, Panhala, Belgaum, Miraj and other forts is now the Maharashtra State, He had begun to harass the land as far north as Chaul and had even sent one of his officers, Yaqut Habashi, with 200 ships of war as far north as Maha'im which had been in the possession of Gujarat ever since the reign of Shihabu'd-din Ahmad-I<sup>58</sup>.

On hearing this Mahmud Shah Begara of Gujarat sent an expedition under Malik Sarang Khan Qiwamu'l-Mulk against Bahadur. Qiwamu'l-Mulk marched forward as far as Agashi and Bassein but he was ordered to stop here, for it would have been impossible to proceed any further without encroaching upon the territory of the Deccan which the King of Gujarat faithfully, respected<sup>59</sup>. It is an irony of circumstances that the same King who had saved the Deccan from the clutches of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa only a few years ago, should now be attacked by a high

officer of that very Kingdom It demonstrates the nobility of the Gujarati monarch That he was content to send Hashim Tabrizi as ambassador to Bidar only to complain that an Amir of the Bahmani kingdom had caused depredations on the Gujarat coast and had destroyed as many as twenty-four Gujarati ships full of merchandise<sup>60</sup>. He went on to say that while it was not possible to send a large army against Bahadur by sea he did not see his way to send his army by land owing to the intervening Deccan territory. He appealed to the old friendship between the two kingdoms and requested Mahmud Shah Bahmani to put an end to the rebel chief<sup>61</sup>.

Sultan Mahmud now sent ‘Abdu’l-Malik Shustari to Yusuf ‘Adil for help against Bahadur at which Yusuf ‘Adil complied with his orders by sending Kamal Khan Dakhni in pursuit of him as he evacuated Jamkhandi and fled to Belgaum. Belgaum was also taken by Yusuf ‘Adil after a siege lasting two or three months<sup>62</sup>. The Sultan sent appeals to all his tarafdars for help against Bahadur and in obedience to this both Nizamu’l-Mulk and ‘Imadu’l-Mulk sent large forces to help him. He himself left Bidar for Bijapur and was received by Yusuf ‘Adil right royally and lodged in the Gagan Mahal Palace in the magnificent fort which had recently been rebuilt by him. He was further offered most valuable presents by his host, but he returned all these except a

single elephant, requesting Yusuf 'Adil to keep them for him for the time being as otherwise all of these would be quietly annexed by his warder, The Turk, who held all power and authority at the capital<sup>63</sup>. At the same time the Sultan sent an ultimatum to Bahadur to lay down his arms at once and return Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan whom he had imprisoned along with the Gujarati ships which were in his possession. When no answer was received he summoned Qutbu'l-Mulk Dakhni, Governor of Tilangana, and ordered him to join forces against Bahadur. Qutbu'l-Mulk on Sultan-Quli Kamadani who had already been raised to the dignity of Khawas Khan and granted him the Jagirs of Kolkar, Gurgi and other Tilangana villages<sup>64</sup>. With Qutbu'l-Mulk now in command, the royal army gained a series of victories against Bahadur Gilani. Mankher was also captured by the King himself after a short siege of three days<sup>65</sup>. On 20.7.898/7.5.1493 Khwaja Ni'matu'l-lah Tabrizi arrived at Mubarakabad-Miraj where the Sultan was then camping, with a message from Bahadur offering to lay down his arms<sup>66</sup>. The Sultan thought the moment to be doubly auspicious as on that very day was born a son to the Queen who was accompanying her royal consort<sup>67</sup>. The King named the infant Ahmad, and amid great rejoicings had he crowned forthwith. The Sultan was so pleased that he sent word to Bahadur that if he simply presented



himself in the court with a couple of elephants, he would give him back all the forts and towns which had been taken from him<sup>68</sup>. This was beyond all Bahadur's expectations and he thought that such lenient terms could only be due to some weakness in the Sultan's camp itself and revoked all thought of a'legiance he might have had. The Sultan immediately marched from Miraj, captured Kolhar, and forced Bahadur's administrator at Dabul to pay homage to him. Bahadur first shut himself at Panhala which was the 'strongest fort in the locality', but made a sortie out when he heard that the Sultan was on his way to Kolhapur<sup>69</sup>. On reaching Kolhapur the Sultan ordered Fakhru'l-Mulk Dakhni and 'Ainu'l-Mulk Kan'ani to cut off Bahadur's retreat to Panhala.

Bahadur now became hopeless and again sent Ni'matu'l-lah Tabrizi and Khwaja Majdu'd-din to the Sultan to say that if he sent him a Farman with the signature of The Turk, that his life would be spared provided that he came and paid homage. The King was again magnanimous and forgave him but demanded the surrender of all the proceeds of piracy to the King of Gujarat<sup>70</sup>. Bahadur would have none of it, and in reply put forward the condition of his surrender namely that the King should retreat to Miraj and Fakhru'l-Mulk should evacuate Panhal. There was nothing left for the Sultan but to order again

that Bahadur should not reach Panhala, and Qutbu'l-Mulk was commissioned for the task<sup>71</sup>. Bahadur met Qutbu'l-Mulk with a force "composed of 2,000 Gilani, Mazendrani, 'Iraqi and Khurasani cavalry" and 15,000 in fantry. In the battle which ensued he was hit by an arrow and killed. This was on 1494.

On hearing of this great victory the King moved to Panhala and occupied it<sup>72</sup>. He gave some of Bahadur's jagirs to 'Ainu'l-Mulk Kan-'ani and some of Nizamu'l-Mulk while the rest he distributed among other nobles. He sent the army to Bijapur and himself proceeded to Mustafabad-Dabul. From Dabul he went to Bijapur and after stopping at Kala-bagh arrived at the capital where there were great rejoicings on his return<sup>73</sup>. The prolonged episode ended in the Sultan sending "magnificent presents. Gold and silver chairs, many mounds of pearls, five elephants, a bejeweled dagger" to Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat ordering that twenty ships should be passed on to his admirals in return for those which had sunk by Bahadur<sup>74</sup>.

There were two other bids for power and in both of them Malik Ahmad, who had so far kept in the background to a certain extent, came to the fore. The first was the attempt of a certain Malik Ashraf who proclaimed himself ruler of Daulatabad and ordered that the name of Sultan Mahmud Begara be recited in Friday sermons at the mosque of Qutbu'd-din Mubarak Shah

Khilji were the Bahmani kingdom had been proclaimed 150 years before<sup>75</sup>. He did not, however, survive even to offer battle to Nizamu'l-Mulk who was marching against him, and on his death it was not difficult for Daulatabad to be reoccupied.

Another pretender, Dastur Dinar Habashi, was more fortunate. He was granted the jagirs of Gulbarga, Sagar Aland and Gangawati in return for his charge of Tilangana which he had to vacate for Qutbu'l-Mulk<sup>76</sup>. Dastur thought it was an opportune moment to become autonomous like others, so in 901/1496 he allied himself with Nizamu'l-Mulk and "expelled royal officials from many localities." The Sultan sent word to Yusuf 'Adil to help him in the matter, and himself proceeded to the west to join him. The two armies came face to face at Mahendri<sup>77</sup>. The King had on his right Yusuf 'Adil and Fakhru'l-Mulk and on his left Qutbu'l-Mulk Qadam Khan and Jahangir Khan. Dastur was defeated and ordered to be beheaded but was in the end forgiven and Gulbarga and Aland as were granted to him as jagirs for a second time<sup>78</sup>.

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## **CHAPTER – VII**

### **CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE**

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Usually an epilogue contains the conclusions arrived by the researcher in justification of his title and research work. In the same way herein at the end of the main topics of his work chapter wise conclusions have been made.

First chapter serves as an introduction to the entire thesis. It lays down the aims and objectives of the study, justification for the selection of the topic, nature and scope of the study, research method employed and the sources of the study.

The purpose of history is not only knowing and understanding the past but also helping to complete what has begun. India is great country with a glorious past and with cultural ethos and values unique in the whole world. Which has set its destiny as revealed in religion art and literature and towards building secular democratic, liberal and value oriented society with unity and integrity as the corner stone of its culture.

The officers in the province of Daulatabad had failed to collect the revenue due to the empire. When the emperor's punishment seemed imminent, some of the rebels contrived to escape to Gulbarga under the leadership of Alauddin Hasan, who styled himself Zafar Khan. Gathering for himself a large



army, he went to Daulatabad, where Nasiruddin, who had been earlier proclaimed as king of the Deccan by the rebels, abdicated in favour of Alauddin Hasan, who proclaimed himself the ruler in August 1347 A.D and assumed the title of *Sikander-i-Sani Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah-al-wali*. The title 'Bahman Shah' mentioned in the Gulbarga mosque inscription and it is also found on the coins of the dynasty. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah seized the frontier fortresses of Karnataka and Telingana.

After the death of Alauddin Hasan Bahmani, his son Muhammad Shah-I ascended the throne and invaded Telingana and captured Golconda. He next sent an order to the ruler of Vijayanagara, probably in token of his suzerainty. This was resented as an insult, and in 1372 A.D a war ensued in which the ruler of Vijayanagara was defeated and reduced to the position of a tributary. While Muhammad Shah-I was absent on these expeditions, an insurrection broke out in Daulatabad, which originated in false news of his death. Bahram Khan who was son-in-law of the late King Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, was governor of Daulatabad.

During the early years of the sultanate most of the time the Sultan was taken up by military campaigns and the kingdom was governed more or less under military law. Muhammad Shah-I however, put the administration on a semi-civil basis. He

divided the kingdom into *taraf* or provinces centered at Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga. The provincial governors were titled respectively, as *Musnad-i-Ali*, *Majlis-i-Ali*, *Azam-i-Humayun* and *Malik Naib*. The province of Gulbarga, which included Bijapur and which was considered most important of all was usually given to one who commanded the confidence of the Sultan to the greatest degree and hence was called *Malik Naib* or viceroy.

Second Chapter gives details about the political history of Bahmani Kingdom. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah was the founder of Bahmani Kingdom, he was descendent from the Persian ruling family of Kakuyds of the Iranian dynasty of Bahmani and Isfandar, leading right up to Bahman Gaur. Alauddin Hasan migrated to India from Ghaznah, then a province of Khurasan, in Iran, where Alauddin Hasan established a new dynasty , on the disintegration of the Tughluq empire, on 1357, he adopted Iranian dynastic title of “Bahman” and hence his sobriquet “Bahman Shah”, and consequently the dynasty was called Bahmani. Alauddin Hasan naturally inherited the glorious traditions of the legendry kings of Iran with rich heritage of Islam and there he introduced in the Deccan. He introduced Iranian culture in the Deccan. He and his

successors tried to maintain cultural contacts with Islamic countries.

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah selected Gulbarga as his capital. He adorned the capital with a number of fine buildings. He put the administration of the country on a sound basis by dividing it into four provinces called *tarafs*, each under a governor. He reigned for eleven years and most of his time was spent in waging wars or in negotiations, both of which were destined to extend his territory. At first, he had to meet opposition from the nobles who still professed their loyalty to the Tughluq Sovereign. He consolidated his rule in the Bijapur district also; parts of the Konkan coast road and passes leading to them were controlled by Gulbarga. Bahmani Kingdom had two powerful neighbours- Warangal and Vijaynagara. The proximity of these two Kingdoms was the cause of the chronic warfare of the next hundred years that characterized the history of the Deccan. Kapaya Nayak of Warangal was defeated by Alauddin Hasan and was ordered to pay tribute. In 1349 A.D., Alauddin Hasan attacked the territory of Vijaynagara he conquered all the territory up to the Tungabhadra. He had become unquestioned master of an extensive territory at the time of his death<sup>2</sup>. This territory extended to the sea on the west and on the east to the fortress town of Bhongir.

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah died in 1358 A.D, and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah-I, who was a sound and industrious administrator. Muhammad instituted a council of eight ministers. He took strong measures for suppression of brigandage and decentralized the administration.

Muhammad Shah-I was succeeded by his son Alauddin Mujahid, on 1375 A.D. He was then only 19 years old and reigned for a short period of less than three years, and was murdered on A.D. 1378. Immediately on Mujahid Shah's murder Dawood was proclaimed king of the Deccan and all those present paid homage to him.

Third Chapter reviews the contributions of Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, his early life and career. After the establishment of Bahmani Sultanate, the first act of the new Sultan Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah was to transfer his title of Zafar Khan to Prince Muhammad, a title which revived the memories of his benevolent and gallant uncle Zafar Khan Alai, and which had proved of such a good omen to him as well. The prince was betrothed to the daughter of senior Amir, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, who now became Wakil-i-Mutlaq or Prime Minister. Malik Saifuddin Ghorī was also one of the Amirs of a group called as Amiran-i-Saadah during the period of Muhammad bin Tughluq;

he also served in Ismail Mukh's reign then later under Bahmanis.

Fourth Chapter discusses about the contributions of Khwajah Bandanawaz, his teachings and writings. Sultan Firuz Shah, the Bahmani King, invited him to Ahsanabad (Gulbarga) which was then the Bahmani capital.

Gesudaraz accepted the invitation and moved to Gulbarga where he arrived in 803/1400 A.D.

Shall be very brief here because, will mention and refer to the possible sources of inspiration to Gesudaraz in the notes to on his thought. Mention may be made here of Al-Junaïd of Baghdad who seems to have been the model Sufi for Gesudaraz, as he was for many other eminent Sufis. Junaïd is referred to in a number of places in his works, especially when Gesudaraz wants to substantiate his own arguments. At times, Junaïd is interpreted in a way that would support his own opinion, because on the one hand, Gesudaraz does not want to disagree with him, while, on the other hand, he wants to adhere to his own argument. Besides Junaïd, Gesudaraz refers to many other Sufis, including Najm al-Din al-Kubra, but it is difficult to say which work of his was available. Among others, we also find references to Jalal al-Din Rumi, 'Aziz al-Din al-Nasafi, Farid al-Din-i 'Attar, Sana'i and others.

The major sources used are mainly the classical works on which Gesudaraz himself has compiled commentaries. To mention a few, works like *Quwwat al-Qulub* of Abu Talib al-Makki, *al-Ta'arruf li Madhhab ahl al-Tasawwuf* of Adu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, *al-Risalah* of Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri, *Kashf al-Mahjub* of al-Hujwiri, *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din* of Muhammad al-Ghazali, *Sawanih fi al-'Ishq* of Ahmad al-Ghazali, *Tamhidat* of 'Ayn al-Qudah al-Hamadhani, *Adab al-Muridin* of Diya' al-Din Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* of Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi are referred to.

Fifth Chapter gives the details about the Khwajah Mahmud Gawan, his contributions towards the society and also to the Bahmani Sultans.

Khwajah Imaduddin Mahmud bin Jalaluddin Muhammad bin Khwajah Kamal Al-Gilani was born at Qawan, or in its more familiar form Gawan in the kingdom of Gilan on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea in 1411 A.D. the Khwajah's family was one of the most aristocratic of Gilan, his ancestors having held high office and one of them having actually become ruler of Resht with the right of having his name mentioned in Friday sermons, and his descendents are said to have maintained their autonomy right up to the reign of Shah Tahmasp Safavi when the Kingdom of Gilan was swallowed up by the regenerated

Persian empire. The Khwajah says that even in his youth he had “the firing ambition of seeing himself attain progress and high eminence in life”, but although he had been brought up in an atmosphere of political rivalry he was averse to shouldering the burden of minister ship even in the petty state of Gilan.

Sixth Chapter throws light on other great personalities during Bahmani period, who served their life under various sections i.e. Administration, Education, Military etc... viz. Yusuf Adil Khan, Qutub-ul-Mulk, Malik Ahmed Nizam-ul-Mulk, Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk, Imaad-ul-Mulk and Qasim Barid etc...

Thus in addition to afore mentioned information this humble attempt of research in the history of some illuminaries of Bahmani period fills the historical hollowness. As this research work covers multifarious aspects of some illuminaries of Bahmani period will be an important addition to the existing knowledge of history of Bahmanis of the Deccan.

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